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MASTER THOUGHTS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON

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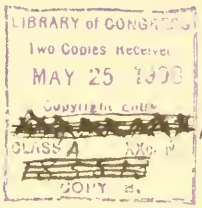
BENJAMIN S. CATCHINGS

OF THE BAR OF NEW YORK CITY



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by

Benjamin S. Catchings

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DEDICATION

Believing that our political organizations have become machines which register the opinions and interests of the few, and that they have drifted far from the principles upon which our Commonwealth is founded, I have dedicated this compilation to the success of the man who stands most free from party reins and strives to do his duty as he sees it—who in his ideals follows nearer the rugged lines of Jeffersonian Democracy than many of its boasted adherents—and to the success of these principles and of Charles E. Hughes, Governor of New York, this work is respectfully dedicated.

BENJAMIN S. CATCHINGS.

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INTRODUCTION

THOUGHTS which seize the heart and mind of men or Nations, which lift them above the necessary strife and sordid struggle of life and sweep them headlong into the accomplishment of some great public need; thoughts which fill a few scattered colonies with light and life, and spread with telling force into other lands and other worlds, driving kings of a thousand years from their thrones—these and all like them are the master thoughts of our time and race.

Thomas Jefferson is known as a leader in the thought of his age. His principles command the attention of every political school, and it is necessary that all should have ready access to them. Thanks and recognition are due to The Jefferson Memorial Association and all others who have aided in gathering together his letters and papers. For it was upon these that Mr. Jefferson relied for the perpetuation of his ideals. In our days of concentrated effort, it is not possible for the average man to wade through twenty volumes of detail and routine correspondence.

To meet this need, the following selections, given in his own language, arranged and classified for ready reference, and taken impartially from some ten thousand pages of documents and letters, are respectfully submitted. It is my belief that among them will be found for each reader some stirring call to arms, some bugle blast of thought, which will lead to renewed exertion, higher ideals, and more earnest service. It is my hope that through them

there will come a deeper and better understanding of a man whose entire life was devoted to the disinterested service of his people, and who is to-day recognized as the apostle and advocate of the rights of the mass of the people as against the special interests of the few. And with this introduction I submit for your thought and consideration, this edition of the

"Master Thoughts of Thomas Jefferson."

BENJ. S. CATCHINGS.

New York, May 15, 1907.

FROM A LETTER TO WILLIAM JOHNSON, 1823

ON OUR part . . . we are depending on **Truth** to make itself known . . . my letters (all preserved) will furnish the daily occurrences and views. . . . These will command more conviction than anything I could have written, after my retirement, no day having ever passed without a letter to somebody; written, 15. 420. too, in the moment and in the warmth and freshness of fact and feeling, they will carry internal evidence that what they breathe is genuine. . . .

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Master Thoughts
of
Thomas Jefferson

Chapter I.

The Negro and Slavery

AS FAR as I can judge, from the experiments which have been made to give liberty to, or rather abandon, persons whose habits have been formed in slavery is like abandoning children. Many Quakers in Virginia seated their slaves on their land as tenants; they were distant from me . . . and . . . I cannot 19. 41. say whether they were to pay rent in money or a share of the produce, but I remember the landlord was obliged to plan their crops for them, to direct all their operations during every season, and according to the weather; but what is more afflicting he was bound to watch them daily and almost constantly to make them work, and even to whip them. A man's moral sense must be very strong if slavery does not make him a thief. He who is permitted by law to have no property of his own can with difficulty conceive that property is founded in anything but force. These slaves chose to steal from their neighbors, became public nuisances, and in most instances were reduced to slavery again. (Letter to Edward Bancroft, 1788.)

MR. JOHN ADAMS observed . . . that it was of no consequence by what *name* you called your people, whether by that of "freemen" or "slaves"; that in some countries the laboring poor were CALLED

freemen, in others they were called slaves; but that the difference as to the state was imaginary only. What
I. 41. matters it whether a landlord, employing ten laborers on his farm, gives them annually as much money as will buy them the necessaries of life, or gives them those necessaries at short hand . . . that the condition of the laboring poor in many countries, that of the fishermen particularly of the Northern States, is as abject as that of slaves. . . .

THE FIRST establishment (settlement) in Virginia which became permanent, was made in 1607. I have found no mention of negroes in the colony until about 1650. The first brought here as slaves were by a Dutch ship; after which the English commenced the trade, and continued it until the Revolutionary War.
I. 58. That suspended, *ipso facto,* their importation for the present, and the business of the war pressing constantly on the legislature, this subject was not acted on until the year '78, when I brought in a bill to prevent their further importation. This passed without opposition, and stopped the increase of the evil by importation, leaving to further efforts its final eradication.

THE BILL on the subject of slaves was a mere digest of the existing laws respecting them, without an intimation of a plan for a future and general emancipation. It was thought better that this should be kept back, and attempted only by way of amendment, whenever the bill should be brought in. The princi-
I. 73. ples of the amendment were, however, agreed on, that is to say, the freedom of all born after a certain day, and deportation at a proper age. But it was found that the public mind would not yet bear the proposi-

tion, nor will it bear it even at this day. Yet the day is not distant when it must bear it and adopt it or worse will follow. Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people are to be free; nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government. Nature, habit, opinion have drawn indelible lines of distinction between them. It is still in our power to direct the process of emancipation and deportation, peaceably, and in such slow degree as that the evil will wear off insensibly, and their place be, *pari passu,* filled up by free white laborers. If, on the contrary, it is left to force itself on, human nature must shudder at the prospect held up. We should in vain look for example in the Spanish deportation or depletion of the Moors. This precedent would fall far short of our case. (Autobiography, 1821.)

THE WHOLE commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submission on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it; for man is an imitative animal. This quality is the germ of all education in him. From his cradle to his grave he is learning to do what he sees others do. If a parent could find no motive either in his philanthropy or his self-love for restraining the intemperance of passion towards his slave, it should always be a sufficient one that his child is present. But generally it is not sufficient. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives aloose to the worst of passions, and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain

2. 225.

his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances. And with what execration should the statesman be loaded, who, permitting one-half the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, transforms these into despots, and these into enemies, destroys the morals of the one part, and the *amor patriae* of the other. . . . With the morals of the people their industry is destroyed. For in a warm climate no man will labor for himself who can make another labor for him. This is so true, that of the proprietors of slaves a very small proportion indeed are ever seen to labor. And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure when we have removed their very basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are of the gift of God? That they are not to be violated but with his wrath? Indeed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that His justice cannot sleep forever; that considering numbers, nature, and natural means, only a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation is among possible events; that it may become probable by supernatural interference! The Almighty has no attribute which can take sides with us in such a contest . . . the spirit of the master is abating, that of the slave rising from the dust, his condition mollifying, the way I hope preparing, under the auspices of heaven, for a total emancipation, and that this is disposed, in the order of events, to be with the consent of the masters, rather than by their extirpation. (Notes on Virginia, 1781.)

UNHAPPILY it is a case for which both parties require long and difficult preparation. The mind of the master is to be apprised by reflection, and strengthened by the energies of conscience, against the ob-

stacles of self-interest to an acquiescence in the rights of others, that of the slave is to be prepared by in-
14. 296. struction and habit for self-government, and for the honest pursuits of industry and social duty. Both of these courses of preparation take time, and the former must precede the latter . . . but it will yield in time to temperate and steady pursuit, to the enlargement of the human mind and the advancement of science. We are not in a world ungoverned by the laws and the power of a superior agent. Our efforts are in His hand, and directed by it; and He will give them their effect in His own time. Where the disease is most deeply seated there it will be slowest in eradication. In the Northern States it was merely superficial, and easily corrected. In the Southern it is incorporated with the whole system, and requires time, patience, and perseverance in the curative process. That it may finally be effected and its progress hastened will be (my) last and fondest prayer. (To David Barrow, 1815.)

I CONGRATULATE you, fellow citizens, on the approach of the period at which you may interpose your authority constitutionally, to withdraw the citizens of the United States from all further participation in those violations of human rights which have been so long continued upon the unoffending inhabitants of Africa,
3. 421 and which the morality, the reputation, and the best interests of our country have long been eager to proscribe.

HERE (in Virginia) crime is scarcely heard of . . . . Our only blot is becoming less offensive by the great improvement in the condition and civilization of that race (negro), who can now be more ad-

vantageously compared, in their situation, with that of the laborers of Europe. Still it is a hideous blot, as
15. 468. well from the . . . peculiarities of the race, as that, with them, physical compulsion to action must be substituted for the moral necessity which constrains the free laborers to work equally hard. We feel and deplore it morally and politically, and we look without entire despair to some redeeming means not yet specifically foreseen . . . their emigration to the westward lightens the difficulty by dividing it, and renders it more practicable on the whole. (To William Short, 1823.)

WHAT a stupendous, what an incomprehensible machine is man! who can endure toil, famine, stripes, imprisonment and death itself, in vindication of his own liberty, and, the next moment, be deaf to all those motives whose power supported him through his trial, and inflict on his fellow-man a bondage, one
17. 103. hour of which is fraught with more misery than ages of that which he rose in rebellion to oppose. But we must await, with patience, the workings of an overruling Providence, and hope that that is preparing the deliverance of these, our suffering brethren. When the measure of their tears shall be full, when their groans shall have involved Heaven itself in darkness, doubtless, a God of justice will awaken to their distress, and by diffusing light and liberality among their oppressors, or, at length, by his exterminating thunder, manifest his attention to the things of this world, and that they are not left to the guidance of a blind fatality. (Monsieur De Meusnier, 1786.)

Chapter II

Loyalty and Secession

THE REV. MR. COFFIN . . . soliciting donations for a college . . . in Tennessee, tells me . . . he wrote a paper recommendatory of the enterprise, which he meant to get signed by . . . persons in a civil character, at the head of which he wished Mr. Adams to put his name, he being then President. 1. 441. . . . Mr. Adams, after reading the paper and considering, said "he saw no possibility of continuing the Union of the States; that their dissolution must necessarily take place; that he therefore saw no propriety in recommending to New England men to promote a literary institution in the South; that it was in fact giving strength to those who were to be their enemies; and therefore he would have nothing to do with it." (December 13, 1803.)

I SEE, with the deepest affliction, the rapid strides with which the federal branch of our government is advancing towards the usurpation of all the rights reserved to the States and the consolidation in itself, of all powers, foreign and domestic; and that, too, by constructions which, if legitimate leave no limits to their power. . . . 16. 146. Under the authority to build post roads, they claim that of cutting down mountains for the construction of roads, of digging canals . . . and what is our resource for the preservation of the Constitution? Reason and argument? You might as well argue with the marble columns encircling them . . . Are we then, to stand to our arms, with the hot-headed Georgian? No. That must be the last resource, not to be thought of until much longer and greater sufferings. If every infraction of

a compact of so many parties is to be resisted at once, as a dissolution of it, none can ever be formed which would last one year. We must have patience and longer endurance then with our brethren when under delusion; give them time for reflection and experience of consequences; keep ourselves in a situation to profit by the chapter of accidents; and separate from our companions only when the sole alternatives left are the dissolution of our Union with them, or submission to a government without limitation of powers. Between these two evils, when we must make our choice, there can be no hesitation. But in the meantime the States should be watchful to note every material usurpation of their rights; to denounce them as they occur in the most peremptory terms; to protest against them as wrongs to which our present consideration shall be considered, not as acknowledgment or precedent of right, but as a temporary yielding to a lesser evil, until their accumulation shall overweigh that of separation. I would go still further, and give to the federal member, by a regular amendment of the Constitution, a right to make roads and canals of intercommunication between the States, providing sufficiently against corrupt practices in Congress (log rolling, etc.), by declaring that the federal proportion of each State of the moneys so employed shall be in works within the State, or elsewhere with its consent. . . . This is the course which I think safest and best as yet. . . . Consolidation . . . becomes . . . the next book of their history . . . they now look to a single and splendid government of an aristocracy, founded on banking institutions, and moneyed corporations under the guise and cloak of their favored branches of manufactures, commerce, and navigation, riding and ruling over the plundered plowman and beggared yeomanry. (To William Giles, 1825.)

IT HAS often been said that the decisions of Congress are impotent because the Confederation provides no compulsory power. But when two or more nations enter into a compact, it is not usual for them to say what shall be done to the party who infringes it. Decency forbids this, and it is as unnecessary as indecent, be-
17. 121. cause the right of compulsion naturally results to the party injured by the breach. When any one State in the American Union refuses obedience to the Confederation by which they have bound themselves, the rest have a natural right to compel them to obedience. Congress would probably exercise long patience before they would recur to force; but if the case ultimately required it, they would use that recurrence. Should this case ever arise, they will probably coerce by a naval force, as being more easy, less dangerous to liberty, and less likely to produce much bloodshed. It has been said that our governments, both federal and particular, want energy; that it is difficult to restrain both individuals and States from committing wrongs. This is true, and is an inconvenience. On the other hand, that energy which absolute governments derive from an armed force, which is the effect of the bayonet constantly held at the breast of every citizen, and which resembles very much the stillness of the grave, must be admitted also to have its inconveniences. We weigh the two together, and like best to submit to the former. (1786.)

DANGERS . . . might be apprehended more reasonably from this perfect and distinct organization, civil and military, of the States; to wit, that certain States from local and occasional discontents

might attempt to secede from the Union. This is certainly possible; and would be befriended by this regular
13. 21. organization. But it is not probable that local discontents can spread to such an extent as to be able to face the sound parts of so extensive a Union; and if they should reach a majority, they would then become the regular government, acquire the ascendency in Congress, and be able to redress their own grievances by laws peaceably and constitutionally passed.

FORTY years of almost constant absence from the State (Virginia) have made me a stranger in it, have left me a solitary tree, from around which the axe of time has felled all the companions of its youth and growth. . . . The last hope of human liberty in this world rests on us. We ought for so dear a State
13. 27. to sacrifice every attachment and every enmity. Leave the President free to choose his own coadjutors, to pursue his own measures, and support him and them, even if we think we are wiser than they, honester than they are, or possessing more enlarged information of the state of things. If we move in mass, be it ever so circuitously, we shall attain our object; but if we break into squads, every one pursuing the path he thinks most direct, we become an easy conquest to those who can now barely hold us in check. I repeat again that we ought not to schismatize on either men or measures. Principles alone can justify that. If we find our government in all its branches rushing headlong, like our predecessors, into the arms of monarchy, if we find them violating our dearest rights, the trial by jury, the freedom of the press, the freedom of opinion, civil, or religious, or opening on our peace of mind or personal safety the sluices of terrorism, if we see them raising standing armies, when the absence of all other

danger points to these as the sole objects on which they are to be employed, then indeed let us withdraw and call the nation to its tents. . . . But while our functionaries are wise and honest and vigilant, let us move compactly under their guidance, and we have nothing to fear. Things may here and there go a little wrong. It is not in their power to prevent it. But all will be right in the end, though not perhaps by the shortest means. (Col. Duane, 1811.)

WHAT does this English faction with you (in Massachusetts) mean? Their newspapers say, rebellion, and that they will not remain united with us unless we will permit them to govern the majority. If this be their purpose, their anti-republican spirit, it ought to be met at once. But a government like ours
13. 162. should be slow in believing this, should put forth its whole might when necessary to suppress it, and promptly return to the paths of reconciliation. (1812.)

THE CEMENT of this Union is in the heart blood of every American. I do not believe there is on earth a government established on so immovable a basis. Let them, in any State, even in Massachusetts itself, raise the standard of separation, and its citizens will rise in mass, and do justice themselves on their own in-
14. 252. cendiaries.

I CAN scarcely contemplate a more incalculable evil than the breaking of the Union into two or more parts. . . . 8. 346.

THE PURSE of the people is the real seat of sensibility. Let it be drawn upon largely, and they will then listen to truths which could not excite them through any other organ.

10. 59.

ALTHOUGH I had laid down as a law to myself, never to write, talk, or even think of politics, to know nothing of public affairs, and therefore had ceased to read the newspapers, yet the Missouri question aroused and filled me with alarm. The old schism of federal and republican threatened nothing, because it existed in every State, and united them together by the fraternism of party. But the coincidence of a marked principle, moral and political, with a geographical line, once conceived, I feared would never more be obliterated from the mind; that it would be recurring on every occasion and renewing irritations, until it would kindle such mutual and mortal hatred, as to render separation preferable to discord. I have been among the most sanguine in believing that our Union would be of long duration. I now doubt it much, and see the event at no great distance, and the direct consequence of this question; . . . My only comfort and confidence is, that I shall not live to see this; and I envy not the present generation the glory of throwing away the fruits of their Fathers' sacrifices of life and fortune, and of rendering desperate the experiment which was to decide ultimately the question whether man is capable of self-government. This treason against human hope will signalize their epoch in future history, as the counterpart of the medal of their predecessors.

15. 247.

*Letter to William Short, 1820.

THIS momentous question (Missouri Compromise), like a fire bell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror. . . . I considered it at once as the knell of the Union. It is hushed, indeed, for the moment. But this is a reprieve only, not a final sentence. A geographical line, coinciding with a marked principle, moral
15. 249. and political, once conceived and held up to the angry passions of men, will never be obliterated, and every new irritation will mark it deeper and deeper. . . . I can say, with conscious truth, that there is not a man on earth who would sacrifice more than I would to relieve us of this heavy reproach, in any practical way. The cession of that kind of property (slaves), for so it is misnamed, is a bagatelle, which would not cost me a second thought, if in that way a general emancipation and expatriation could be effected; and gradually and with due sacrifices I think it might be. But as it is, we have the wolf by the ears, and we can neither hold him nor safely let him go. Justice is in one scale, and self-preservation in the other. . . . I regret that I am now to die in the belief that the useless sacrifice of themselves by the generation of 1776, to acquire self-government and happiness of their country, is to be thrown away by the unwise and unworthy passions of their sons, and that my only consolation is to be that I live not to weep over it.

If they would but dispassionately weigh the blessings they will throw away, against an abstract principle more likely to be effected by Union than without, they would pause before they would perpetrate this act of suicide on themselves, and of treason against the hopes of the world. . . . To yourself as the faithful advocate of the Union I tender the offering of my esteem and respect.

*Letter to John Holmes, 1820.

NOR IS our side of the water entirely untroubled, the boisterous sea of liberty is never without a wave. A hideous evil, the magnitude of which is seen, and at a distance only, by the one party, and more sorely felt and sincerely deplored by the other, from the difficulty of the cure, divides us at this moment 15. 283. too angrily. The attempt by one party to prohibit willing States from sharing the evil, is thought by the other to render desperate by accumulation the hope of its final eradication. If a little time, however, is given to both parties to cool, and to dispel their visionary fears, they will see that concurring in sentiment as to the evil, moral and political, the duty and interest of both is to concur also in divining a practical process of cure. Should time not be given, and the schism be pushed to separation, it will be for a short time only; two or three years' trial will bring them back, like quarrelling lovers, to renewed embraces and increased affections. The experiment of separation would soon prove to both that they had mutually miscalculated their best interests. And even were the parties in Congress to secede in a passion, the soberer people would call a convention and cement again the severance attempted by the insanity of their functionaries. With this consoling view my greatest grief would be for the fatal effect of such an event on the hopes and happiness of the world. We exist and are quoted as standing proofs that a government so modelled as to rest continually upon the will of the whole society is a practicable government. Were we to break to pieces, it would dampen the hopes and the efforts of the good, and give triumph to those of the bad through the whole enslaved world. As members therefore of the universal society of mankind, and standing in high and responsible relation with them, it is our sacred duty to suppress passion among ourselves, and not to blast the con-

fidence we have inspired of proof that a government of reason is better than one of force. (William Rush, 1820.)

IT IS not a moral question, but one merely of power. Its object is to raise a geographical principle for the choice of President, and the noise will be kept up till that is effected.

All know that permitting the slaves of the South to spread into the West will not add one being to that unfortunate condition, that it will increase the happi-
15. 301. ness of those existing, and by spreading them over a larger surface will dilute the evil everywhere, and facilitate the means of finally getting rid of it, an event more anxiously wished by those on whom it presses than by the noisy pretenders to exclusive humanity. In the meantime it is a ladder for rivals climbing to power.

ALL, I fear, do not see the speck in our horizon which is to burst on us as a tornado sooner or later. The line of division lately marked out between different portions of our confederacy is such as will never, I fear, be obliterated.

15.315.

BY ALL, I trust, the Union of these States will ever be considered as the Palladium of their safety, their prosperity and glory, and all attempts to sever it will be frowned on with reprobation and abhor-

rence. And I have equal confidence that all moved by the sacred principles of liberty and patriotism will pre-
16. 341. pare themselves for any crisis we may be able to meet, and be ready to coöperate with each other, and with the constituted authorities, in resisting and repelling the aggressions of foreign nations.

BE THIS as it may, in every free and deliberating society, there must from the nature of man be opposite parties and violent dissensions and discords; and one of these, for the most part, must prevail over the other for a longer or shorter term. Perhaps this party division is necessary to induce each to watch and
18. 207. relate to the people the proceedings of the other. But if on a temporary superiority of the one party, the other is to resort to the scission of the Union no Federal Government can ever exist. If to rid ourselves of the present rule of Massachusetts and Connecticut we break the Union, will the evil stop there? Suppose the New England States cut off, will our natures be changed? Are we not men still to the south of that, and with all the passions of men? Immediately we shall see a Pennsylvania and a Virginia party arise in the residuary confederacy, and the public mind will be distracted with the same party spirit. What a game, too, will the one party have in their hands by eternally threatening the other that, unless they do so and so, they will join their Northern neighbors. If we reduce our Union to Virginia and North Carolina, immediately the conflict will be established between the representatives of these two States, and they will end by breaking into their simple units. Seeing, therefore, that an association of men that will not quarrel with one another is a thing which never yet existed, from the greatest confederacy of nations down to a town meeting or a vestry, seeing that we must have

somebody to quarrel with, I had rather keep our New England associates for that purpose than to see our bickerings transferred to others. . . . A little patience and we shall see the reign of witches over, their spells dissolve, and the people, recovering their true sight, restore their government to its true principles. It is true that in the meantime we are suffering deeply in spirit, and incurring the horrors of a war and long oppressions of enormous public debt. But who could say what would be the evils of a scission, and when and where they would end? Better keep together as we are, haul off from Europe as soon as we can, and from all attachments to any portions of it. And if we feel their power just sufficiently to hoop us together, it will be the happiest situation in which we can exist. If the game runs sometimes against us at home we must have patience until luck turns, and then we shall have an opportunity of winning back the principles we have lost, for this is a game where principles are the stake. (To John Taylor, 1798.)

I AM perfectly content . . . to meet all hazards and trials with my fellow citizens. If we keep together we shall be safe, and when error is so apparent as to become visible to the majority, they will correct it, and what we suffer during the error must be carried to account with the losses by tempests, earthquakes, etc. 18. 291.

Chapter III

The Principles of Thomas Jefferson

I AM as happy nowhere else, and in no other society, and all my wishes end, where I hope my days will end, at Monticello. Too many scenes of happiness mingle themselves with all the recollections of my native woods and fields, to suffer them to be supplanted in my affection by any other.

6. 263

WERE parties here divided merely by a greediness for office as in England, to take a part with either would be unworthy of a reasonable or moral man. But where the principle of difference is as pronounced as between the Republicans and the monocrats of our country, I hold it as honorable to take

9. 317. a firm and decided part, and as immoral to pursue a middle line, as between the parties of honest men and rogues, into which every country is divided. (Letter to William Giles, 1795.)

THANKS be to God, the tiger (Napoleon Bonaparte) who revelled so long in the blood and spoils of Europe is at length, like another Prometheus, chained to his rock, where the vulture of remorse for his crimes will be preying on his vitals and in like manner without consuming them. Having been like him in-

19. 256. trusted with the happiness of my country, I feel the blessing of resembling him in no other point. I have not caused the death of five or ten millions of human beings, the devastation of other countries, the depopulation of my own, the exhaustion of all its resources, the destruc-

tion of its liberties, nor its foreign subjugation. All this he has done to render more illustrious the atrocities perpetrated for illustrating himself and his family with plundered diadems and sceptres. On the contrary, I have the consolation to reflect that during the period of my administration not a drop of the blood of a single fellow citizen was shed by the sword of war or of the law, and that after cherishing for eight years their peace and prosperity I laid down their trust of my own accord, and in the midst of their blessings and importunities to continue in it. But beginning to be sensible of the effect of age, I feared its infirmities might injure their interests, and believed the example would be salutary against inveteration in office, and I now enjoy in retirement the comfort of their good will, and of a conscience calm and without reproach. (To Count Duquain, 1818.)

MY greatest of all amusements (is) reading. Dr. Franklin used to say that when he was young and had time to read he had not books; and now, when he has become old and has books, he has no time. Perhaps it is that when habit has strengthened our sense of duties, they leave us no time for other things; but when young we neglect them and this gives us time for anything.

19. 194.

YOU know our course of life. To place our friends at ease we show them that we are so ourselves, by pursuing the necessary vocations of the day and enjoying their company at the usual hours of society.

19. 209.

I HAVE come to a resolution myself, as I hope every good citizen will, never again to purchase any article of foreign manufacture which can be had of American make, be the difference of price what it may.
19. 223.

SENSIBILITY of mind is indeed the parent of every virtue, but it is the parent of much misery, too.
19. 46.

To Hon. Jas. Monroe. 1800. General.

I NEVER doubted the propriety of our adopting as a system that of pomp and fulsome attentions by our citizens to their functionaries. I am decided, against it, as it makes the citizen in his own eye exalting his functionary and creating a distance between the two, which does not tend to aid the morals of either. I think it is
19. 119. a practice which we ought to destroy and must destroy, and therefore must not adopt as a general thing even for a short time.

IT is more honorable to repair a wrong than to persist in it.
19. 149.

OUR body was little numerous, but very contentious. Day after day was wasted on the most unimportant questions. A member, one of those afflicted with the morbid rage of debate, of an ardent mind, prompt imagination, and copious flow of words, who heard with impatience any logic which was not his own, sitting
1. 86. near me on some occasion of a trifling but wordy debate, asked me how I could sit in silence, hear-

ing so much false reasoning, which a word should refute? I observed to him that to refute indeed was easy, but to silence was impossible; that in measures brought forward by myself, I took the laboring oar, as was incumbent upon me; but that in general, I was willing to listen; that if every sound argument or objection (was suggested) by some one or other of the numerous debaters, it was enough; if not, I thought it sufficient to suggest the omission, without going into a repetition of what had been already said by others: that this was a waste and abuse of the time and patience of the house, which could not be justified. And I believe that if the members of deliberative bodies were to observe this course generally, they would do in a day what takes them a week; and it is really more questionable than may at first be thought, whether Bonaparte's dumb legislature, which said nothing, and did much, may not be preferable to one which talks much, and does nothing.

I served with General Washington in the legislature of Virginia before the Revolution, and during it with Dr. Franklin in Congress. I never heard either of them speak more than ten minutes at a time, nor to any but the main point, which was to decide the question. They laid their shoulders to the great points, knowing that the little ones would follow of themselves. If the present Congress errs in too much talking, how can it be otherwise, in a body to which the people send one hundred and fifty lawyers, whose trade is to question everything, yield nothing, and talk by the hour? That one hundred and fifty lawyers should do business together is not to be expected.

THE Count de Vergennes had the reputation, with the diplomatic corps, of being slippery and wary in his diplomatic intercourse; and so he might be with those whom he knew to be slippery and double-faced

themselves. As he saw that I had no indirect views, practiced no subtleties, meddled in no intrigues, pursued no concealed object, I found him as frank, honorable, as easy of access to reason, as any man with whom I have ever done business. . . .

1. 96.

MY wish was to see both houses of Congress cleansed of all persons interested in the bank or public stocks; and that a pure legislature being given us, I should always be ready to acquiesce under their determinations, even if contrary to my own opinions; for I subscribe to the principle, that the will of the majority, honestly expressed, should give law.

1. 332.

IN EVERY event, I would rather construe (the Constitution) so narrowly as to oblige the Nation to amend, and thus declare what powers they would agree to yield, than too broadly, and, indeed, so broadly as to enable the Executive and Senate to do things the Constitution forbids.

1. 408.

I WAS against writing letters to the Judiciary officers. I thought them independent of the Executive, not subject to its coercion, and therefore not obliged to attend to its admonitions.

1. 399.

I HAD never interfered directly or indirectly with my friends or any others to influence the election for . . . myself; that I considered it as my duty to be merely passive. . . . In the election now coming on I was observing the same conduct, held no councils with anybody respecting it, nor suffered any one to speak to me on the subject, believing it my duty to leave myself to the free discussion of the public. . . .

1. 445.

I NEVER had done a single act, or been concerned in any transaction, which I feared to have fully laid open, or which could do me any hurt, if truly stated; . . . I had never done a single thing with a view to my personal interest, or that of any friend, or with any other view than that of the greatest public good; that therefore, no threat or fear on that head could ever be a motive of action with me. Coming out of the Senate chamber one day, I found Gouverneur Morris on the steps. He stopped me . . . and went on to observe that the reasons why the minority of States was so opposed to my being elected, were, that they apprehended that (1) I would turn all Federalists out of office; (2) put down the navy; (3) wipe off the public debt. That I need only declare, or to authorize my friends to declare, that I would not take these steps, and instantly the event of the election would be fixed. I told him that I should leave the World to judge of the course I meant to pursue by that which I had pursued hitherto, believing it my duty to be passive and silent during the present scene; that I should certainly make no terms; should never go into the office of President by capitulation, nor with my hands tied by any conditions which should hinder me from pursuing the measures which I should deem for the public good. (The vote stood 73 to 73, and one vote would have decided the election.) . . . Certain I am that neither he nor any other Republican ever uttered the most distant hint to me about submitting to any conditions, or giving any assurances to anybody, and still more certainly, was neither he nor any other person ever authorized by me to say what I would or would not do. . . .

I. 450.

IGNORANCE is preferable to error; and he is less remote from truth who believes nothing, than he who believes what is wrong.

2. 43.

IN SHORT we are likely to preserve the liberty we have obtained only by unremitting labors and perils. But we shall preserve it; and our mass of weight and wealth on the good side is so great as to leave no danger that force will ever be attempted against us.

9. 335.

WE have an immensity of land courting the industry of the husbandman. Is it best then for all our citizens to be employed in its improvement, or that one-half should be called off from that to exercise manufactures and handicraft arts for the other?

Those who labor in the earth are the chosen people of God, if he ever had a chosen people, whose breasts He has made His peculiar deposit for substantial and genuine virtue. . . . Corruption of morals in the mass of cultivators is a phenomenon of which no age nor nation has furnished an example. It is the mark set on those who, not looking up to heaven, to their own soil and industry, as does the husbandman, for their subsistence, depend for it on casualties and caprice of customers. Dependence begets subservience and venality, suffocates the germ of virtue, and prepares fit tools for the designs of ambition.

2. 229.

This, the natural progress and consequence of the arts, has sometimes perhaps been retarded by accidental circumstances; but, generally speaking, the proportion

which the aggregate of the other classes of citizens bears in any State to that of its husbandmen, is the proportion of its unsound to its healthy parts, and is a good enough barometer whereby to measure its degree of corruption. While we have land to labor then, let us never wish to see our citizens occupied at a work bench, or twirling a distaff. Carpenters, masons, smiths, are wanting in husbandry; but for the general operations of manufacture, let our workshops remain in Europe. It is better to carry provisions and materials to workmen there than bring them to the provisions and materials, and with them their manners and principles. The loss by the transportation of commodities across the Atlantic will be made up (in) happiness and permanence of government. The mobs of great cities add just so much to the support of pure government as sores do to the strength of the human body. It is the manners and spirit of a people which preserve a republic in vigor. A degeneracy in these is a canker which soon eats to the heart of its laws and constitution.

I REPEAT it again, cultivators of the earth are the most virtuous and independent citizens . . . the actual habits of our countrymen attach them to commerce. They will exercise it for themselves. Wars then must sometimes be our lot; and all the wise can do will be to avoid that half of them which would be produced by our own follies, and our own acts of injustice; and to make for the other half the best preparations we can. Of what nature should these be? A land army would be useless for offence, and not the best nor safest instrument of defence. For either of these purposes the sea is the field on which we should meet an European enemy. On that element it is necessary that we should possess some power. To aim at such a navy as the greater

2. 241.

European nations possess would be a foolish and wicked waste of the energies of our countrymen. It would be to pull on our own heads that load of military expense which makes the European laborer go supperless to bed, and moistens his bread with the sweat of his brow. It will be enough if we enable ourselves to prevent insults from those nations of Europe which are weak on the sea, because circumstances exist which render even the strong ones weak as to us. Providence has placed their richest and most defenceless possessions at our door; has obliged their most precious commerce to pass, as it were, in review before us. To protect this, or to assail, a small part only of their naval force will ever be risked across the Atlantic. The dangers to which the elements expose them here are too well known, and the greater dangers to which they would be exposed at home, were any calamity to involve their whole fleet. They can attack us by detachment only; and it will suffice to make ourselves equal to what they may detach. . . . A small naval force then is sufficient for us, and a small one is necessary. What this should be I will not undertake to say. I will only say, it should be by no means so great as we are able to make it.

OUR INTEREST will be to throw open the doors of commerce, and to knock off all its shackles, giving perfect freedom to all persons for the vent of whatever they may choose to bring into our ports, and asking the same in theirs. Never was so much false arithmetic employed on any subject as that which has been employed to persuade nations that it is their interest to go to war. Were the money which it has cost to gain, at the close of a long war, a little town, or a little territory, the right to cut wood here, or to catch fish there, expended in improving what they already possess, in

2. 240

making roads, opening rivers, building ports, improving the arts, and finding employment for their idle poor, it would render them much stronger, much wealthier, and happier. And this I hope will be our wisdom.

DURING the contest of opinion through which we have passed, the animation of discussion and of exertions has sometimes worn an aspect which might impose on strangers unused to think freely and to think and to write what they think; but this being now decided by the voice of the nation, announced according to the rules of the Constitution, all will, of course, arrange themselves under the will of the law, and unite in common efforts for the common good. All, too, will bear in mind this sacred principle, that though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will, to be rightful, must be reasonable; that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal laws must protect, and to violate which would be oppression. Let us, then, fellow-citizens, unite with one heart and one mind. Let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection without which liberty and even life itself are but dreary things. And let us reflect that having banished from our land that religious intolerance under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have yet gained little if we countenance a political intolerance as despotic, as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions. During the throes and convulsions of the ancient world, during the agonizing spasms of infuriated men, seeking through blood and slaughter their long lost liberty, it was not wonderful that the agitation of the billows should reach even this distant and peaceful shore; that this should be more felt and feared by some and less by others; that this should divide opinions as to measures of safety. But every differ-

3. 318.

ence of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all republicans—we are all federalists. If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it. I know indeed that some honest men fear that a republican government cannot be strong enough. But would the honest patriot, in the full tide of successful experiment, abandon a government which has so far kept us free and firm, on the theoretic and visionary fear that this government, the world's best hope, may by possibility want energy to preserve itself? I trust not. I believe this, on the contrary, the strongest government on earth. I believe it is the only one where every man, at the call of the laws, would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasions of the public order as his own personal concern. Sometimes it is said that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he, then, be trusted with the government of others? Or have we found angels in the forms of kings to govern him? Let history answer this question.

I FEAR not that any motives of interest may lead me astray; I am sensible of no passion which could seduce me knowingly from the path of justice; but the weakness of human nature, and the limits of my own understanding will produce errors of judgment sometimes injurious to your interests. I shall need, therefore, all the indulgence I have heretofore experienced—the want of it will certainly not lessen with the increasing years. I shall need, too, the favor of that being, in whose hands we are, who led our Fathers,

3. 383.

as Israel of old, from their native land, and planted them in a country flowing with all the necessaries and comforts of life; who has covered our infancy with His providence, and our riper years with His wisdom and power; and to whose goodness I ask you to join me in supplications, that He will so enlighten the minds of your servants, guide their councils, and prosper their measures, that whatsoever they do shall result in your good, and shall secure to you the peace, friendship, and approbation of all nations.

I PERCEIVE by your letter you are not unapprised that your services to your country have not made due impression on every mind. That you have enemies, you must not doubt, when you reflect that you have made yourself eminent. If you meant to escape malice you should have confined yourself within the sleepy line of regular duty. When you transgressed this, and enterprised deeds which will hand down your name with honor to future times, you made yourself a mark for envy and malice to shoot at. Of these there is enough, both in and out of office. I was not a little surprised to find one person hostile to you . . . that you may long continue a fit object for his enmity, and for that of every person of his complexion in the state, which I know can only be by your continuing to do good to your country, and to acquire honor to yourself, is the earnest prayer of . . . Your friend. . . .

4. 201.

. . . . In a virtuous government, and more especially in times like these, public offices are what they should be, burthens to those appointed to them, which it would be wrong to decline, though foreseen to bring with them intense labor and great private loss. 4. 297.

If pride of character be of worth at any time, it is when it disarms the efforts of malice. 4. 364.

The glow of one warm thought is to me worth more than money. 4. 23.

I HAVE printed and reserved just copies enough (Notes on Virginia) to be able to give one to every young man at the college. It is to them I look, to the rising generation, and not to the one now in power, for these great reformations.
5. 4.

THE KNOWN bias of the human mind from motives of interest should lessen the confidence of each party in the justice of their reasoning; . . .
5. 322.

EVERY rational citizen must wish to see an effective instrument of coercion, and should fear to see it on any other element than the water. A naval force can never endanger our liberties, nor occasion bloodshed, a land force would do both.
5. 386.

WERE I to select any passages as giving me particular satisfaction, it would be those wherein you prove to the United States that they will be more virtuous, more free, and more happy, employed in agriculture, than as carriers or manufacturers. It is a truth and a precious one for them, if they could be persuaded of it.
5. 402.

THE PHILADELPHIA Bank was incorporated by Congress. This is perhaps the only instance of their having done that which they had no power to do. Necessity obliged them to give this institution the appearance of their countenance, because in that moment they were without any other resource for money.
5. 420.

PERFECTION in wisdom, as well as in integrity, is neither required nor expected in these agents (public servants). It belongs not to man.
18. 129. The wise know too well their weakness to assume infallibility; and he who knows most, knows best how little he knows.

This is not the spirit of our law. It expects not impossibilities. . . . It has consecrated the principle that its servants are not responsible for honest errors of judgment. . . . He who has done his duty honestly, and according to his best skill and judgment, stands acquitted before God and man.

YOU SAY that I have been dished up to you as an anti-federalist, and ask me if it be just . . . since you ask it I will tell you. . . . I am not a federalist, because I never submitted the whole system of my opinions to the creed of any party of men whatever, in religion, in philosophy, in politics, or in anything
7. 299. else, where I was capable of thinking for myself. Such an addiction is the last degradation of a free moral agent. If I could not go to heaven with but a party, I would not go there at all. Therefore, I am not of the party of federalists. But I am much farther from that of the anti-federalists. I approved from the first moment

of the great mass of what is in the new Constitution; the consolidation of the government; the organization into Executive, legislative, and judiciary . . . what I disapproved from the first moment also was the want of a bill of rights to guard liberty against the legislative as well as the executive branches of the government, that is to say, to secure freedom in religion, freedom of the press, freedom from monopolies, freedom from unlawful imprisonment, freedom from a permanent military, a trial by jury, in all cases determinable by the laws of the land. . . . These, my dear friend, are my sentiments, by which you will see I was right in saying that I am neither federalist nor anti-federalist; that I am of neither party, nor yet a trimmer between parties. These, my opinions, I wrote within a few hours after I had read the Constitution, to one or two friends in America. I had not then read one single word printed on the subject.

I never had an opinion in politics or religion which I was afraid to own. A costive reserve on these subjects might have procured me more esteem from some people, but less from myself. My great wish is to go on in a strict but silent performance of my duty; to avoid attracting notice, and to keep my name out of newspapers, because I find the pain of a little censure, even when it is unfounded, is more acute than the pleasure of much praise. The attaching circumstance of my present office is that I can do its duties unseen by those for whom they are done.

THE OPERATIONS which have taken place in America lately fill me with pleasure. In the first place, they realize the confidence I had, that whenever our affairs go obviously wrong, the good sense of the

people will interpose and set them to rights. The example of changing a constitution, by assembling the wise
7. 322. men of the state, instead of assembling armies, will be worth as much to the world as the former examples we had given them. The Constitution, too, which was the result of our deliberations, is unquestionably the wisest ever yet presented to men. . . .

I HAVE not hesitated to press on him (Lafayette) to burn his instructions, and follow his conscience as the only sure clue, which will eternally guide a man clear of all doubts and inconsistencies. . . .
7. 350.

WE THINK, in America, that it is necessary to introduce the people into every department of government, as far as they are capable of exercising it; and that this is the only way to insure a long continued and honest administration of its powers. . . .
In the form of juries, therefore, they determine
7. 422. all matters of fact, leaving to the judges to decide the question of law resulting from those facts. But we all know that permanent judges acquire an *esprit de corps;* that being known, they are liable to be tempted by bribery; that they are misled by favor, by relationship, by a spirit of party, by a devotion to the executive or legislative power; that it is better to leave a cause to cross and pile than to a judge biased to one side; and that the opinion of twelve honest jurymen gives still a better hope of right than cross and pile do. It is in the power, therefore, of the juries, if they think permanent judges are under any bias whatever, in any cause, to take on themselves to judge the law as well as the fact. They never exercise this power, but when they suspect partiality in the judges; and

by the exercise of this power they have been the firmest bulwarks of English liberty. Were I called upon to decide whether the people had best be omitted in the legislative or judiciary department, I would say it is better to leave them out of the legislative. The execution of the laws is more important than the making of them. However it is best to have the people in all three departments, where that is possible.

IT IS not for an individual to choose his post. . . . .
8. 1.

YOU ARE too well informed a politician, too good a judge of men, not to know that the ground of liberty is to be gained by inches, that we must be contented to secure what we can get from time to time, and eternally press forward for what is yet to get. It takes time to persuade men to do even what is for their
8. 3. own good.

CONVINCED that the republican is the only form for government which is not eternally at open or secret war with the rights of mankind, my prayers and efforts shall be cordially to the support of that we have so happily established. It is indeed an animating thought, that while we are securing the rights of
8. 7. ourselves and our posterity, we are pointing out the way to struggling nations who wish, like us, to emerge from their tyrannies also. Heaven help their struggles, and lead them, as it has done us, triumphantly through them.

WE ARE not to expect to be translated from despotism to liberty in a feather bed.
8. 13.

WHEN I first entered on the stage of public life (now 24 years ago), I came to the resolution never to engage while in public life in any kind of enterprise for the improvement of my fortune, nor to wear any other character than that of a farmer. I have never departed from it in a single instance; and
9. 44. I have, in multiplied instances, found myself happy in being able to decide and to act as a public servant, clear of all interest, in the multiform questions that have arisen, wherein I have seen others embarrassed and biased by having got themselves into a more interested situation. Thus I have thought myself richer in contentment than I should have been with any increase of fortune. Certainly, I should have been much wealthier had I remained in that private station which renders it lawful and even laudable to use proper efforts to better it. However, my public career is now closing, and I will go through on the principle on which I have hitherto acted.

. . . We, I hope, shall adhere to our republican government, and keep to its original principles by narrowly watching it.

TO MY fellow-citizens the debt of service has been fully and faithfully paid. I acknowledge that such a debt exists, that a tour of duty, in whatever line he can be most useful to his country, is due from every individual . . . there has been a time . . . when perhaps the esteem of the world was of higher
9. 117 value in my eye than everything in it. But age, experience, and reflection preserving to that only its due value, have set a higher on tranquillity. The motion of my blood no longer keeps time with the tumult of the world. It leads me to seek for happiness in the lap and

love of my family, in the society of my neighbors and my books, in the wholesome occupations of my farm and my affairs, in an interest or affection in every bud that opens, in every breath that blows around me, in an entire freedom of rest, of motion, of thought, owing account to myself alone of my hours and actions.

NO GROUND of support for the executive will ever be so sure as a complete knowledge of their proceedings by the people; and it is only in cases where the public good would be injured, and because it would be injured, that proceedings should be secret.
9. 262.

IN TRUTH, I did not know myself under the pens either of my friends or foes. It is unfortunate for our peace, that unmerited praise has not the power to heal. These are hard wages for the services of all the active and healthy years of one's life. I had retired after five and twenty years of constant occupation in
9. 353. public affairs, and total abandonment of my own. I retired much poorer than when I entered the public service, and desired nothing but rest and oblivion. . . . I have no ambition to govern men; no passion which would lead me to delight to ride in the storm. . . . There is no bankrupt law in heaven by which you can get off with shillings on the pound. . . .

. . . I love to see honest and honorable men at the helm, men who will not bend their politics to their purses, nor pursue measures by which they may profit, and then profit by their measures.

I HAVE no ambition to govern men. It is a painful and thankless office.
9. 357.

I THINK with the Romans that the general to-day should be a soldier to-morrow, if necessary.
9. 358.

DELAY is preferable to error.
8. 338.

WHEN a man whose life has been marked by its candor has given a latter opinion contrary to a former one, it is probably the result of further inquiry, reflection, and conviction.
9. 380.

POLITICAL dissension is doubtless a less evil than the lethargy of despotism, but still it is a great evil, and it would be as worthy the efforts of the patriot as of the philosopher, to exclude its influence, if possible, from social life. The good are rare enough at best. There is no reason to subdivide them by artificial lines.
9. 389. But whether we shall be able so far to perfect the principles of society, as that political opinions shall, in its course, be as inoffensive as those of philosophy, mechanics, or any other, may be well doubted.

THEY begin to see to what port their leaders were steering during their slumbers, and there is yet time to haul in. . . . All can be done peaceably, by the people confining their choice of representa-

tives and senators to persons attached to republican government and the principles of 1776, not office-
9. 420. hunters, but farmers, whose interests are entirely agricultural. Such men are the true representatives of the great American Interest, and are alone to be relied on for expressing the proper American sentiments. We owe gratitude to France, justice to England, good will to all, and subservience to none.

I DO then, with sincere zeal, wish an inviolable preservation of our present federal Constitution, according to the true sense in which it was adopted by the States, that in which it was advocated by its friends. . . . I am for preserving to the States the powers not yielded by them to the Union, and to the legislature of the
10. 74. Union its constitutional share in the division of powers; and I am not for the transferring all the powers of the States to the General Government, and all those of that government to the executive branch. I am for a government rigorously frugal and simple, applying all the possible savings of the public revenue to the discharge of the national debt; and not for a multiplication of officers and salaries merely to make partisans, and for increasing, by every device, the public debt, on the principle of its being a public blessing.

I am for relying for internal defence upon our militia solely till actual invasion, and for such a naval force only as may protect our coasts and harbors from such depredations as we have experienced, and not for a standing army in times of peace, which may overawe the public sentiment; nor for a navy, which, by its own expenses and the eternal wars in which it will implicate us, will grind us with public burdens, and sink us under them. I am for free commerce

with all nations; political connection with none; and little or no diplomatic establishment. And I am not for linking ourselves by new treaties with the quarrels of Europe; entering that field of slaughter to preserve their balance, or joining in the confederacy of kings to war against the principles of liberty. I am for freedom of religion, and against all manoeuvres to bring about a legal ascendency of one sect over another; for freedom of the press, and against all violations of the Constitution to silence, by force, and not by reason, the complaints or criticisms, just or unjust, of our citizens against the conduct of their agents. . . .

REASON, not rashness, is the only means of bringing our fellow-citizens to their true minds.
10. 89.

IT IS the sick who need medicine and not the well.
10. 103.

OUR COUNTRY is too large to have all its affairs directed by a single government. Public servants at such a distance, and from under the eye of their constituents, must, from the circumstance of distance, be unable to administer and overlook all the details necessary for the good government of the citizens, and the same circumstance, by rendering detection impossible to their constituents, will invite the public agents to corruption, plunder, and waste . . . the true theory of our constitution is surely the wisest and best, that the States are independent as to everything within themselves, and united as to everything respecting foreign nations.
10. 167.

WHEN GREAT evils happen, I am in the habit of looking out for what good may arise from them as consolations to us, and Providence has so established the order of things, as that most evils are the means of producing some good. The yellow fever will discourage the growth of great cities as pesti-
10. 173. lential to the morals, the health, and the liberties of man. True, they nourish some of the elegant arts, but the useful ones can thrive elsewhere, and less perfection in the others, with more health, virtue, and freedom would be my choice. . . . I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man.

MANY ATTEMPTS have been made to obtain terms and promises from me. I have declared to them unequivocally, that I would not receive the government on capitulation, that I would not go into it with my hands tied.
10. 201.

IN THE discharge of my functions here (as President of the Senate), it has been my conscientious endeavor to observe impartial justice, without regard to persons or subjects, and if I have failed in impressing this upon the mind of the Senate, it will be to me a circumstance of deep regret. I may have erred at times—no doubt
10. 212. I have erred; this is the law of human nature. For honest errors, however, indulgence may be hoped.

THAT PEACE, safety, and concord may be the portion of our native land, and be long enjoyed by our fellow-citizens, is the most ardent wish of my heart, and if I can be instrumental in procuring or preserv-

ing them, I shall think I have not lived in vain. In every country where man is free to speak and think,
10. 235. differences of opinion will arise from differences of perception, and the imperfection of reason; but these differences, when permitted, as in this happy country, to purify themselves by free discussion, are but as passing clouds overspreading our land transiently, and leaving our horizon more bright and serene. That love of order and obedience to laws, which so remarkably characterize the citizens of the United States, are sure pledges of eternal tranquility; and the elective franchise, if guarded as the ark of our safety, will peaceably dissipate all combinations to subvert a Constitution dictated by the wisdom and resting on the will of the people. That will is the foundation of any government, and to protect its free expression should be our first object.

I SINCERELY wish with you to see our government so secured as to depend less on the character of the person in whose hands it is trusted. Bad men will sometimes get in, and with such an immense patronage may make great progress in corrupting the public mind and principles. This is a subject with which wisdom
10. 237. and patriotism should be occupied.

I KNOW that in stopping thus short in the career of removal (of officers) I shall give great offence to many of my friends. That torrent has been pressing me heavily, and will require all my force to bear
10. 241. up against; but my maxim is "fiat justitia, ruat coelum."

THE CONSTITUTION on which our Union rests shall be administered by me according to the safe and honest meaning contemplated by the plain understanding of the people of the United States, at the time of its adoption. . . . The energies of the nation, as depends upon me, shall be reserved for improvement of the condition of man, not wasted in his extinction. The lamentable resource of war is not authorized for evils of imagination, but for those actual injuries only, which would be more destructive of our well being than war itself. Peace, Justice, and liberal intercourse with all the nations of the world, will, I hope, with all nations, characterize this commonwealth.

10. 248.

OPINION, and the just maintenance of it, shall never be a crime in my view, nor bring injury on the individual.

10. 250.

IT WILL be a great blessing to our country if we can once more restore harmony and social love among its citizens. I confess, as to myself, it is almost the first object of my heart, and one to which I would sacrifice everything but principle.

10. 153.

THE RIGHT of opinion shall suffer no invasion from me. Those who have acted well have nothing to fear, however they may have differed from me in opinion; those who have done ill, however, have nothing to hope; nor shall I fail to do justice lest it should be ascribed to that difference of opinion. A coalition of sentiments is not for the interests of the printers. They . . . live by the zeal they can kindle, and the schisms they can create. It is the contest of opinion in

10. 254.

politics as well as religion which makes us take great interest in them, and bestow our money liberally on those who furnish aliment to our appetite . . . so the printers can never leave us in a state of perfect rest and union of opinion. They would be no longer useful, and would have to go to the plow . . . however, the steady character of our countrymen is a rock to which we may safely moor; and notwithstanding the efforts of the papers to disseminate early discontents, I expect that a just, dispassionate, and steady conduct, will at length rally to a proper system the great body of our country.

Unequivocal in principle, reasonable in manner, we shall be able, I hope, to do a great deal of good to the cause of freedom and harmony.

I AM sensible of how far I should fall short of effecting all the reformation which reason would suggest, and experience approve, were I free to do whatever I thought best; but when we reflect how difficult it is to move or inflect the great machine of society, how impossible to advance the notions of a whole people suddenly to ideal right, we see the wisdom of Solon's remark, that no more good must be attempted than the nation can bear, and that all will be chiefly to reform the waste of public money, and thus drive away the vultures who prey upon it, and improve some little on old routines.

10. 255.

TO PRESERVE the peace of our fellow-citizens, promote their prosperity and happiness, reunite opinion, cultivate a spirit of candor, moderation, charity, and forbearance towards one another, are objects

calling for the efforts and sacrifices of every good man and patriot. Our religion enjoins it; our happiness de-
10. 262. mands it, and no sacrifice is requisite but of passions hostile to both. It is a momentous truth, and happily of universal impression on the public mind, that our safety rests on the preservation of our Union. Our citizens have wisely formed themselves into one nation as to others and several States as among themselves. To the United Nation belong our external and mutual relations, to each State severally the care of our persons, our property, our reputations, and religious freedom.

THE APPROBATION of my ancient friends, is, above all things, the most grateful to my heart. They know for what objects we relinquished the delights of domestic society, tranquility, and science, and committed ourselves to the ocean of revolution, to wear out the only life God has given us here in scenes
10. 301. the benefits of which will accrue only to those who follow us. Surely, we had in view to obtain the theory and practice of good government; and how any, who seemed so ardent in this pursuit, could have . . . supposed we meant only to put our government into other hands, but not other forms, is indeed wonderful. The lesson we have had will probably be useful to the people at large, by showing to them how capable they are of being made the instruments of their own bondage.

EVERY honest man will suppose honest acts to flow from honest principles.
10. 304.

A RESPECTABLE minority is useful as censors; . . . freemen, thinking differently, and speaking and acting as they think, will form into classes of sentiment.

10. 319.

WE SHALL get entangled in European politics, and figuring more, be much less happy and prosperous. . . .

10. 345. Some men are born for the public. Nature, by fitting them for the service of the human race on a broad scale, has stamped them with the evidences of her destination and their duty.

THERE ARE those who, when they cannot blame our acts, have recourse to the expedient of imputing them to bad motives. This is a recourse which can never fail them, because there is no act, however virtuous, for which ingenuity may not find some bad motive . . . but I never will, by any word or

10. 376. act, bow to the shrine of intolerance, or admit a right of inquiry into the religious opinions of others. On the contrary, we are bound, you and I, and every one, to make common cause, even with error itself, to maintain the common right of freedom of conscience. We ought, with one heart and one hand, to hew down the daring and dangerous efforts of those who would seduce the public opinion to substitute itself into that tyranny over religious faith which the laws have so justly abdicated.

I . . . bless the Almighty being who, in gathering together the waters under the heavens into one place, divided the dry land of your hemisphere from the dry land of ours, and said, at least, let there be peace. I

hope that peace and amity with all nations will long be the character of our land, and that its prosperity
10. 400. under the Charter will react on the mind of Europe, and profit her by the example. . . .

Washington . . . . the moderation of his desires, and the strength of his judgment, enabled him to calculate correctly, that the road to that glory which never dies is to use power for the support of the laws and liberties of our country, not for their destruction; and his will accordingly survives the wreck of everything now living.

THERE is sometimes an eminence of character on which society have such peculiar claims as to control the predilections of the individual for a particular walk of happiness, and restrain him to that alone arising from the present and future benedictions of mankind.
8. 348.

THE MINORITY, having no other means of ruling the majority, will give a price for auxiliaries, and that price must be principle.

11. 24.

WHEN YOU and I look back upon the country over which we have passed, what a field of slaughter does it exhibit! Where are all the friends who entered it with us, under all the inspiring energies of health and hope? As if pursued by the havoc of war they are strewed by the way, some earlier,
11. 31. some later, and scarce a few stragglers remain to count the numbers fallen, and to mark yet, by their own fall, the last footsteps of their party. Is it a desirable thing to bear up through the heat of the action, to witness the death of all our companions, and merely be the last victim? I doubt it. We have, however, the travel-

lers' consolation. Every step shortens the distance we have to go; the end of our journey is in sight, the bed wherein we are to rest, and to rise in the midst of the friends we have lost. "We sorrow not, then, as others that have no hope"; but look forward to the day which "joins us to the great majority." But whatever is to be our destiny, wisdom, as well as duty, dictates that we should acquiesce in the will of Him whose it is to give and take away, and be contented in the enjoyment of those who are still permitted to be with us.

OF THOSE connected by blood, the number does not depend on us. But friends we have, if we have merited them. Those of our earliest years stand nearest in our affections.

II. 32.

AMIDST the direct falsehoods, the misrepresentations of truth, the calumnies, and the insults resorted to by a faction to mislead the public mind, and to overwhelm those entrusted with its interests, our support is to be found in the approving voice of our conscience and our country, in the testimony of
II. 33. our fellow-citizens, that their confidence is not shaken by these artifices. . . . I may err in my measures, but never shall deflect from the intention to fortify the public liberty by every possible means, and to put it out of the power of the few to riot on the labors of the many.

No experiment can be more interesting than that we are now trying, and which we trust will end in establishing the fact that man may be governed by reason and truth. Our first object should, therefore, be to leave open to him all the avenues of truth. The most effectual hitherto

found is the press. It is, therefore, the first shut up by those who fear the investigation of their actions. The firmness with which the people have withstood the late abuses of the press, the discernment they have manifested between truth and falsehood, show that they may be safely trusted to hear everything true and false, and to form a correct judgment between them. . . . I hold it therefore certain, that to open the doors of truth, and to fortify the habit of testing everything by reason, are the most effectual manacles we can rivet on the hands of our successors to prevent their manacling the people with their own consent. . . . Three sons, and hopeful ones, too, are a rich treasure. I rejoice when I hear of young men of virtue and talents, worthy to receive, and likely to preserve the splendid inheritance of self-government, which we have acquired and shaped for them.

I TOLERATE with the utmost latitude the right of others to differ from me in opinion without imputing to them criminality. I know too well the weakness and uncertainty of human reason to wonder at its different results. Both of our political parties, at least the honest part of them, agree conscientiously in the same
II. 52. object—the public good; but they differ essentially in what they deem the means of accomplishing that good . . . one fears most the ignorance of the people; the other the selfishness of rulers independent of them. Which is right, time and experience will prove. . . . My anxieties on this subject will never carry me beyond the use of honorable means of truth and reason; nor have they ever lessened my esteem for moral worth, nor alienated my affections from a single friend, who did not first withdraw himself.

MY OPINION originally was that the President of the United States should be elected for a period of seven years, and forever ineligible afterwards. I have since become sensible that seven years is too long to be irremovable, and that there should be a peaceable way of withdrawing a man in midway who is doing wrong. The service for eight years, with a power to remove at the end of the first four, comes nearly to my principle as corrected by experience; and it is in adherence to that that I determine to withdraw at the end of my second term. The danger is that the indulgence and attachments of the people will keep a man in his chair until he becomes a dotard, that reëlection through life shall become habitual and election for life follow that. General Washington set the example of voluntary retirement after eight years. I shall follow it. And a few more precedents will oppose the obstacle of habit to any one who after a while shall endeavor to extend his term.

II. 58.

I DO NOT express my sense of our misfortunes from any idea that they are remediable. I know that the passions of men will take their course; that they are not to be controlled but by despotism, and that this melancholy truth is the pretext for despotism.

The duty of an upright administration is to pursue its course steadily; to know nothing of these family dissensions, and to cherish the good principles of both parties.

II. 71.

IF WE suffer ourselves to be frightened from our post by mere lying, surely the enemy will use that weapon; for what one so cheap to those of whose system of politics morality makes no part?

The patriot, like the Christian, must learn that to bear revilings and persecutions is a part of his duty; and in proportion as the trial is severe, firmness under it becomes more requisite and praiseworthy. It requires, indeed, self-command. But that will be fortified in proportion as the calls for its exercise are repeated.

II. 73.

I DEEM it the duty of every man to devote a certain portion of his income for charitable purposes; and that it is his further duty to see it so applied as to do the most good of which it is capable. This I believe to be best insured by keeping within the circle of his own inquiry and information the subjects of distress to whose relief his contributions shall be applied.

II. 92.

THERE is not a truth on earth which I fear or would disguise. But secret slanders cannot be disarmed, because they are secret.

II. 94.

THERE is a steady good sense in the legislature and in the body of the nation, joined with good intentions, which will lead them to discern and to pursue the public good under all circumstances which can arise, and that no *ignis fatuus* will be able long to lead them astray.

II. 107.

WE, TOO, shall encounter follies; but if great, they will be short; if long they will be light, and the vigor of our country will get the better of them.

II. 113.

ALTHOUGH our prospect is peace, our policy and purpose are to provide for defence by all those means to which our resources are competent.

II. 121.

WARS and contentions, indeed, fill the pages of history with more matter. But more blest is that Nation whose silent course of happiness furnishes nothing for history to say. This is what I ambition for my own country, and what it has enjoyed for upwards of twenty years, while Europe has been in constant volcanic eruption.

II. 180.

I HAVE the consolation, too, of having added nothing to my private fortune, during my public service, and of retiring with hands as clean as they are empty.

II. 182.

WITH respect to the tour my friends to the North have proposed that I should make in that quarter, I have not made up a final opinion. The course of life which General Washington ran, civil and military, the services he had rendered, and the space he, therefore, occupied in the affections of his fellow-citizens, take from his examples the weight of precedent for others, because no others can arrogate to themselves the claims which he had on the public homage. To myself, therefore, it comes as a new question, to be viewed under all the phases it may present. I confess that I am not reconciled to the idea of a chief magistrate parading himself through the several States as an object of public gaze, and in quest of an applause which, to be valuable, should be purely voluntary. I had rather

II. 239.

acquire silent good will by a faithful discharge of my duties than owe expressions of it to my putting myself in the way of receiving them.

IT SEEMS that the smaller the society, the bitterer the dissensions into which it breaks. . . . I believe ours is to owe its permanence to its great extent, and the smaller portion comparatively which can ever be convulsed at one time by local passions.
11. 390.

A FORTY YEARS' experience of popular assemblies has taught me that you must give them time for every step you take. If too hard pushed they balk, and the machine retrogrades. People generally have more feeling for canals and roads than education. However, I hope we can advance them with equal pace.
11. 400.

FOR MYSELF I have nothing further to ask of the world than to preserve in retirement so much of its esteem as I may have fairly earned, and to be permitted to pass in tranquillity, in the bosom of my family and friends, the days which yet remain for me. Having reached the harbor myself, I shall view with
12. 8. anxiety (but certainly not with a wish to be in their place) those who are still buffeting the storm, uncertain of their fate.

I CANNOT but be deeply sensible of the good opinion you are pleased to express of my conduct in the administration of our government. This approbation of my fellow-citizens is the richest reward I can receive.

I am conscious of always having intended to do what was best for them; and never for a single moment to have listened to any personal interest of my own. It has been a great source of pain to me to have met with so many of our opponents, who had not the liberality to distinguish between political and social opposition; who transferred at once to the person the hatred they bore to his political opinions. I suppose, indeed, that in public life a man whose political opinions have any decided character, and who has energy enough to give them effect, must always expect to encounter political hostility from those of adverse principles. . . . If our fellow-citizens, now solidly republican, will sacrifice favoritism towards men for the preservation of principle, we may hope that no divisions will again endanger a degeneracy in our government.

12. 9.

I SEE with pleasure . . . a sound recurrence to the first principles on which our government was founded . . . a just line drawn between a wholesome attention to the conduct of rulers, and a too ready censure of that conduct on every unfounded rumor; between the love of Peace, and the determination to meet War, when its evils shall be less intolerable than the wrong it is meant to correct. . . . To . . . a union of effort may our citizens ever rally, minorities falling cordially, on the decision of a question, into the ranks of the majority, and bearing always in mind that a nation ceases to be republican only when the will of the majority ceases to be the law.

12. 17.

NO INTERESTS are dearer to men than those which ought to be secured to them by their form of government, and none deserve better of them than those who contribute to the amelioration of that form. The

consciousness of having deserved well of mankind for your endeavors to be useful to them in this line will
12. 256. be itself a high reward, to which will be added the homage of those who shall have reaped the benefits of them.

WITHIN a few days I retire to my family, my books, and farms; and having gained the harbor myself, I shall look on my friends still buffeting the storm with anxiety, indeed, but not with envy. Never did a prisoner, released from his chains, feel such relief as I shall on shaking off the shackles
12. 258. of power. Nature intended me for the tranquil pursuits of science, by rendering them my supreme delight. But the enormities of the times in which I have lived have forced me to take a part in resisting them, and to commit myself on the boisterous ocean of political passions. I thank God for the opportunity of retiring from them without censure, and carrying with me the most consoling proofs of public approbation.

RETURNING to the scenes of my birth and early life, to the society of those with whom I was raised, and who have been ever dear to me, I receive, fellow-citizens and neighbors, with inexpressible pleasure, the cordial welcome you are so good as to give me. Long absent on duties which the history of
12. 269. a wonderful era made incumbent on those called to them, the pomp, the turmoil, the bustle, and splendor of office have drawn but deeper sighs for the tranquil and irresponsible occupations of private life, for the enjoyment of an affectionate intercourse with you, my neighbors and friends, and the endearments of family love, which nature has given us all, as the sweetener of every

hour. For these I gladly lay down the distressing burden of power and seek, with my fellow-citizens, repose and safety under the watchful cares, the labors, and perplexities of younger and abler minds.

TO THOSE whose views are simple and direct, it is a great comfort to do business with frank and honorable minds.

12. 309.

IN A GOVERNMENT like ours, it is the duty of the chief magistrate, in order to enable himself to do all the good which his station requires, to endeavor, by all honorable means, to unite in himself the confidence of the whole people. This alone, in any case, where the whole energy of the nation is required, can produce a

12. 353. union of powers of the whole, and point them in a single direction, as if all constituted but one body and one mind, and this alone can render a weaker nation unconquerable by a stronger one. Toward acquiring the confidence of the people, the very first measure is to satisfy them of his disinterestedness, and that he is directing their affairs with a single eye to their good, and not to build up fortunes for himself and family, and especially that the officers appointed to transact their business, are appointed because they are the fittest men, not because they are his relations. So prone are they to suspicion, that where a President appoints a relation of his own, however worthy, they will believe that favor, not merit, was the motive. I therefore laid it down as a law of conduct for myself, never to give an appointment to a relation.

I FIND in old age that the impressions of youth are the most lasting. Some friends indeed have left me by the way, seeking, by different political path, the same

object, their country's good, which I pursued with the crowd along the common highway. It is a satisfaction to me that I was not the first to leave them. I have never
12. 356. thought that a difference in political, any more than in religious opinions, should disturb the friendly intercourse of society. There are so many other topics on which friends may converse and be happy that it is wonderful they would select of preference the only one on which they cannot agree.

IT IS a blessing, however, that our people are reasonable; that they are kept so well informed of the state of things as to judge for themselves, to see the true sources of their difficulties, and to maintain their confidence undiminished in the wisdom and integrity of their functionaries. *Macte virtute,* therefore. Continue to go
12. 357. straight forward, pursuing always that which is right, as the only clue which can lead us out of the labyrinth. Let nothing be spared of either reason or passion to preserve the public confidence entire, as the only rock of our safety.

In times of peace the people look most to their representatives, but in war, to the executive solely.

MONEY, and not morality, is the principle of commerce and commercial nations. . . . It may be asked, what, in the nature of her government, unfits England for the observation of moral duties? In the first place her King is a cypher; his only function being to name the oligarchy which is to govern her.
12. 376. The parliament is, by corruption, the mere instrument of the will of the administration. The real power and property in the government is in the great aristocratical families of the nation. The nest of office being

too small for all of them to cuddle into at once, the contest is eternal, which shall crowd the other out. For this purpose they are divided into two parties, the INS and the OUTS, so equal in weight that a small matter turns the balance. To keep themselves in, when they are in, every stratagem must be practised, every artifice used which may flatter the pride, the passions or power of the nation. Justice, Honor, Faith must yield to the necessity of keeping themselves in place. The question whether a measure is moral is never asked; but whether it will nourish the avarice of their merchants, or the piratical spirit of their navy, or produce any other effect which may strengthen them in their places. As to engagements, however positive, entered into by the predecessors of the INS, why, they were their enemies; they did everything which was wrong; and to reverse everything which they did must, therefore, be right. This is the true character of the English Government in practice, however it may be in theory; and it presents the singular phenomenon of a nation, the individuals of which are as faithful to their private engagements and duties, as honorable, as worthy as those of any nation on Earth, and yet whose government is the most unprincipled at this day known. . . . When I observed, however, that the King of England was a cypher, I did not mean to confine the observation to the mere individual now on that throne. The practice of Kings marrying only in the families of Kings, has been that of Europe for centuries. Now, take any race of animals, confine them in idleness and inaction, whether in a stye, a stable, or a stateroom, pamper them with high diet, gratify all their sexual appetites, immerse them in sensualities, nourish their passions, let everything bend before them, and banish whatever might lead them to think, and in a few generations they become all body and no mind; and this, too, by a law

of nature, by that very law by which we are in constant practice of changing the characters and propensities of the animals we raise for our own purposes. Such is the regimen in raising Kings, and in this way they have gone on for centuries. While in Europe, I often amused myself with contemplating the characters of the then reigning sovereigns of Europe. . . . Louis XVI. was a fool, of my own knowledge, and in despite of the answers made for him at the trial. The King of Spain was a fool, and of Naples the same. They passed their lives in hunting, and dispatched two couriers a week, one thousand miles, to let each other know what game they had killed the preceding days. The King of Sardinia was a fool. All these were Bourbons. The Queen of Portugal, a Braganza, was an idiot by nature. And so was the King of Denmark. Their sons, as regents, exercised the powers of government. The King of Prussia, successor to the great Frederick, was a mere hog in body as well as in mind. Gustavus of Sweden and Joseph of Austria were really crazy, and George of England, you know, was in a strait waistcoat. There remained then none but old Catherine, who had been too lately picked up to have lost her common sense.

In this state Bonaparte found Europe; and it was this state of its rulers which lost it almost without a struggle. These animals had become without mind and powerless; and so will every hereditary monarch be after a few generations. Alexander, the grandson of Catherine, is as yet an exception. He is able to hold his own. But he is only of the third generation. His race is not yet worn out. And so endeth the book of Kings, from all of whom the Lord deliver us, and have you, my friend, and all such good men and true, in his holy keeping.

THERE will be danger that what is here proposed, though but an ordinary act of duty, may be diverted into one of ostentation, but malice will always find bad motives for good actions. Shall we therefore never do good?

12. 391.

IF I HAVE left in the breast of my fellow-citizens a sentiment of satisfaction with my conduct in the transaction of their business, it will soften the pillow of my repose through the residue of life. The question which you propose, whether circumstances do not occur sometimes, which make it a duty in officers of high

12. 418. trust, to assume authorities beyond the law, is easy of solution in principle, but sometimes embarrassing in practice. A strict observance of the written laws is doubtless one of the high duties of a good citizen, but it is not the highest. The laws of necessity, of self-preservation, of saving our country when in danger, are of higher obligation. To lose our country by a scrupulous adherence to written law would be to lose the law itself, with life, liberty, property, and all those who are enjoying them with us, thus absurdly sacrificing the end to the means. When in the battle of Germantown, General Washington was annoyed from Chew's house, he did not hesitate to plant cannon against it, although the property of a citizen. When he besieged Yorktown he levelled the suburbs, feeling that the laws of property must be postponed to the safety of the nation. While the army was before York, the Governor of Virginia took horses, carriages, provisions, and even men, by force, to enable that army to stay together till it could master the public enemy, and he was justified. . . .

The officer who is called to act on this superior ground does indeed risk himself on the justice of the con-

trolling powers of the Constitution, and his station makes it his duty to incur that risk. But those controlling powers, and his fellow-citizens generally, are bound to judge according to the circumstances under which he acted. . . . It is incumbent on those only who accept of great charges to risk themselves on great occasions, when the safety of the nation or some of its high interests are at stake. An officer is bound to obey orders, yet he would be a bad one if he should do it in cases for which they were not intended, and which involved the most important consequences. The line of discrimination between cases may be difficult, but the good officer is bound to draw it at his own peril, and throw himself on the justice of his country and the rectitude of his motives.

I have indulged freer views on this question, on your assurance that they will not get into the hands of news writers. I met their scurrilities without concern while in pursuit of the great interests with which I was charged. But in my present retirement no duty forbids my wish for quiet.

CONTINUALLY endangered by a powerful opposition, they (representatives) find it convenient to humor the popular passions at the expense of the public good. The shipping interest and their janizaries of the navy and the commercial interest, all fattening on war, will not be neglected by ministers of ordinary 12. 440. minds. Their tenure of office is so infirm that they dare not follow the dictates of wisdom, justice, and the well calculated interests of their country.

I FEEL happy . . . in resigning myself for the remnant of life, to the care and guardianship of others. Good wishes are all an old man has to offer to his country or friends.

12. 441.

MR. ADAMS . . . said: "Well I understand that you are to beat me in this contest, and I will say that I will be as faithful a subject as any you have." "Mr. Adams," said I, "this is no personal contest between you and me. Two systems of principles on the subject of government divide our fellow-citi-

13. 5. zens into two parties. With one of these you concur, and I with the other. As we have been longer on the public stage than most of those now living, our names happen to be more generally known. One of these parties has put your name at the head, the other mine."

When the election between Burr and myself was kept in suspense by the federalists. . . . Mr. Adams said: . . . . "Sir, the event of the election is within your own power. You have only to say that you will do justice to the public creditors, maintain the navy, and not disturb those holding public offices, and the government will instantly be put in your hands. We know it is the wish of the people that it should be so." "Mr. Adams," said I, "I know not what part of my conduct, in either public or private life, can have authorized a doubt of my fidelity to the public engagements. I say, however, I will not come into the government by capitulation. I will not enter on it, but in perfect freedom to follow the dictates of my own judgment."

I HAVE never been able to conceive how any rational being could propose happiness to himself from the exercise of power over others.

. . . The true barriers of our liberty in this country are our State governments; and the wisest conservative power ever contrived by man is that of which our Revolution and present government found us possessed. Seventeen distinct States, amalgamated into one as to their foreign concerns, but single and independent as to their internal administration, regularly organized with a legislature and governor resting on the choice of the people and enlightened by a free press, can never be so fascinated by the arts of one man as to voluntarily submit to his usurpation.

13. 18.

Nor can they be constrained to it by any force he can possess. While that may paralyze the single State in which it happens to be encamped, sixteen others, spread over a country of 2,000 miles diameter, rise upon every side . . . and . . . present such obstacles to an usurper as forever to stifle ambition in the first conception of that object.

I KNOW that the dissolutions of friendship are among the most painful occurrences in life.

13. 59.

POLITICS, like religion, hold up torches of martyrdom to the reformers of error. Nor is it in the theatre of Ephesus alone that tumults have been excited when the crafts were in danger.

13. 69.

I FIND friendship to be like wine, raw when new, ripened with age, the true old man's milk and restorative cordial.

13. 77.

A LETTER from you (John Adams) calls up recollections very dear to my mind. It carries me back to the times when, beset with difficulties and dangers, we were fellow-laborers in the same cause, struggling for what is most valuable to man, his right of self-government. Laboring always at the same oar, with some wave ever ahead, threatening to overwhelm us, and yet passing harmless under our bark, we knew not how we rode through the storm with heart and hand and made a happy port. Still, we did not expect to be without rubs and difficulties, and we have had them . . . and so we have gone on puzzled and prospering beyond example in the history of man. And I do believe we shall continue to grow, to multiply, and prosper, until we exhibit an association, powerful, wise, and happy beyond what has yet been seen by men.

13. 123.

I PROFESS . . . so much of the Roman principle as to deem it honorable for the general of yesterday to act as a corporal to-day, if his services can be useful to his country; holding that to be false pride which postpones the public good to any private or personal considerations. But I am past service. The hand of age is upon me.

13. 186.

THE HAPPINESS of the domestic fireside is the first boon of heaven; and it is well it is so, since it is that which is the lot of the mass of mankind.

13 220.

MEN HAVE differed in opinion, and been divided into parties by these opinions, from the first origin of societies, and in all governments where they have been permitted freely to think and to speak.

The same political parties which now agitate the United States have existed through all times. Whether
13. 279. the power of the people or that of the aristoi should prevail were questions which kept the States of Greece and Rome in eternal convulsions, as they now schismatize every people whose minds and mouths are not shut up by the gag of a despot. And, in fact, the term of whig and tory belong to natural as well as civil history. They denote the temper and constitution of mind of different individuals. . . . To come to our own country . . . as soon as it was put in motion, the line of division was drawn. We broke into two parties, each wishing to give the government a different direction; the one to strengthen the most popular branch, the other the more permanent branches, and to extend their permanence. . . . To me then it appears that there have been differences of opinion and party differences, from the first establishment of government to the present day, and on the same question which now divides our own country; that these will continue through all time; that every one takes his side in favor of the many, or of the few, according to his constitution, and the circumstances in which he is placed; that opinions which are equally honest on both sides should not affect personal esteem or social intercourse.

TIME ALONE insensibly wears down old habits and produces small changes at long intervals, and to this process we must all accommodate ourselves, and be content to follow those who will not follow us.
13. 348.

I VERY much suspect that if thinking men would have the courage to think for themselves, and to speak what they think, it would be found they do not differ in . . . opinions as much as is supposed.

13. 349.

I AGREE with you that there is a natural aristocracy among men. The grounds of this are virtue and talents. Formerly bodily powers gave place among the aristoi. But since the invention of gunpowder has armed the weak, as well as the strong, with missile death, bodily strength, like beauty, good humor, politeness, and

13. 396. other accomplishments, has become but an auxiliary ground of distinction. There is also an artificial aristocracy, founded on wealth and birth, without either virtue or talents; for with these it would belong to the first class. The natural aristocracy I consider as the most precious gift of nature, for the instruction, the trusts, the government of society. And, indeed, it would have been inconsistent in creation to have formed man for social state, and not to have provided virtue and wisdom enough to manage the concerns of society. May we not even say that that form of government is the best which provides the most effectually for a pure selection of these natural aristoi into the offices of government? The artificial aristocracy is a mischievous ingredient in government, and provision should be made to prevent its ascendency.

CONSULT your own experience, reflect on the similar cases which have happened within your own knowledge, and see if there ever was a single one in which such a mode of recrimination procured favor to

him who used it. You may give pain where perhaps you wish it, but be assured it will react on yourself
14. 117. with double, though delayed effect, and that it will be one of those incidents of your life on which you will never reflect with satisfaction. Be advised, then; erase it even from your memory, and stand erect before the world on the high ground of your own merits, without stooping to what is unworthy either of your or their notice. Remember that we often repent of what we have said, but never, never of that which we have not.

To ourselves in strict language we can owe no duties, obligation requiring also two parties. Self-love is therefore no part of morality. Indeed, it is exactly its counterpart. It is the sole antagonist of virtue, leading us constantly by our propensities to self-gratification in violation of our moral duties to others. Accordingly, it is against this enemy that are erected the batteries of moralists and religionists, as the only obstacle to the practice of morality. Take from man his selfish propensities, and he can have nothing to seduce him from the practice of virtue. Or subdue those propensities by education, instruction, or restraint, and virtue remains without a competitor . . . good acts give us pleasure, but how happens it that they give us pleasure? Because nature has implanted in our breasts a love of others, a sense of duty to them, a moral instinct, in short, which prompts us irresistibly to feel and to succor their distresses, . . . the creator would, indeed, have been a bungling artist had he intended man for a social animal, without planting in him social dispositions. It is true they are not planted in every man, because there is no rule without exceptions; but it is false reasoning which converts exceptions into the general rule. . . . Nature has constituted Utility to man the standard and test of virtue.

WE CANNOT always do what is absolutely best. Those with whom we act, entertaining different views, have the power and the right of carrying them into practice. Truth advances and error recedes step by step only; and to do to our fellow-men the most good in our power, we must lead where we can, follow where we cannot, and still go on with them, watching always the favorable moment for helping them to another step.
14. 200.

I HAVE ever deemed it more honorable and more profitable, too, to set a good example than to follow a bad one. The good opinion of mankind, like the lever of Archimedes, with the given fulcrum, moves the world.
14. 222.

I SINCERELY congratulate you on Peace. . . . Our second and third campaigns here, I trust, more than redeemed the disgraces of the first, and proved that although a republican government is slow to move, yet, when once in motion, its momentum becomes irresistible.
14. 270.

THIS must be done with the consent of every individual because the association being voluntary, the mere majority has no right to apply the contributions of the minority to purposes unspecified in the agreement of the (whole).
24. 282.

WHEN public opinion changes it is with the rapidity of thought. . . . Embarked in the same bottom, I am willing to swim or sink with my fellow-citizens. . . . I am a great friend to the im-

provements of roads, canals, and schools. . . . If a nation expects to be ignorant and free, in a state
14. 382. of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be. The functionaries of every government have propensities to command at will the property and liberty of their constituents. There is no safe deposit for these but the people themselves, nor can they be safe with them without information. When the press is free and every man able to read, all is safe.

THERE IS perhaps a degree of duty to avow a change of opinion called for by a change of circumstances. 14. 435.

IT WILL be said it is easier to find faults than to amend them. I do not think their amendment so difficult as is pretended. Only lay down true principles and adhere to them fixedly. Do not be frightened into surrender by the alarms of the timid, or the croakings of wealth against the ascendency of the people. . . .
15. 35. Nomination to office is an executive function. To give it to the legislature as we do is a violation of the principle of the separation of powers. It swerves the members from correctness by temptations to intrigue for office themselves, and to a corrupt barter of votes; and destroys responsibility by dividing it among a multitude. . . . I am not among those who fear the people. They, and not the rich, are our dependence for continued freedom. And to preserve their independence, we must not let our rulers load us with perpetual debt. We must make our election between economy and liberty, or profusion and servitude. If we run into such debts as that we must be taxed in our meat and in our drink, in our necessaries, and in our comforts, in our labors, and in our amusements,

for our callings and our creeds as the people of England are, our people like them must come to labor sixteen hours in the twenty-four . . . have no time to think, no means of calling the mismanagers to account; but be glad to obtain subsistence by hiring ourselves to rivet their chains on the necks of our fellow-sufferers.

THE FIRST principle of republicanism is, that the *lex majoris partis* is the fundamental law of every society of individuals of equal rights; to consider the will of the majority enounced by the majority of a single vote, as sacred as if unanimous, is the first of all lessons in importance, yet the last which is thoroughly learned.
15. 127.

TO SPECIAL legislation we are generally averse, lest a principle of favoritism should creep in and pervert that of equal rights.
15. 139.

NO GOVERNMENT can continue good, but under the control of the people.
15. 234.

IT IS true, as you say, that we have differed in political opinions; but I can say with equal truth, that I never suffered a political to become a personal difference.
15. 322.

IF THERE had been at any time a moment when we were off our guard, and in a temper to let the whispers of these people make us forget what we had known of each other for so many years, and

years of so much trial, yet all men who have attended to the workings of the human mind, who have seen
15. 476. the false colors under which passion sometimes dresses the actions and motives of others, have seen also those passions subsiding with time and reflection, dissipating like mists before a rising sun, and restoring to us the sight of all things in their true shape and colors. It would be strange, indeed, if, at our years, we were to go back an age to hunt up imaginary or forgotten facts, to disturb the repose or affections so sweetening to the evening of our lives. (Letter to John Adams—1823)

THE EQUAL rights of man, and the happiness of every individual, are now acknowledged to be the only legitimate objects of government. Modern times have the singular advantage of having discovered the only device by which these rights can be secured, to wit, government by the people, acting not in person,
15. 482. but by representatives chosen by themselves, that is to say, by every man of ripe years and sane mind, who either contributes by his purse or person to the support of his country. . . . And true it is that the people, especially when moderately instructed, are the only safe, because the only honest, depositaries of the public rights, and should therefore be introduced into the administration of them in every function in which they are sufficient; they will err sometimes and accidentally, but never designedly, and with a systematic and persevering purpose of overthrowing the free principles of government. Hereditary bodies, on the contrary, always existing, always on the watch for their own aggrandizement, profit of every opportunity of advancing the privileges of their order, and encroaching on the rights of the people.

I AM no believer in the amalgamation of parties, nor do I consider it as either desirable or useful for the public; but only that, like religious differences, a difference in politics should never be permitted to enter into social intercourse, or to disturb its friendships, its charities, or justice. In that form they are censors of the conduct of each other, and useful watchmen for the public. Men, by their constitutions, are naturally divided into two parties: 1. Those who fear and distrust the people, and wish to draw all powers from them into the hands of the higher classes. 2. Those who identify themselves with the people, have confidence in them, cherish and consider them as the most honest and safe, although not the most wise, depository of the public interests.

16. 73.

In every country these two parties exist, and in every one where they are free to think, speak, and write, they will declare themselves. Call them, therefore, Liberals and Serviles; Jacobins and Ultras; Whigs and Tories; Republicans and Federalists; Aristocrats and Democrats, or by whatever name you please, they are the same parties still, and pursue the same objects. The last appellation of Aristocrats and Democrats is the true one, expressing the essence of all.

A RECOLLECTION of our former vassalage in religion and civil government will unite the zeal of every heart, and the energy of every hand, to preserve that independence in both, which, under the favor of Heaven, a disinterested devotion to the public cause first achieved, and a disinterested sacrifice of private interests will now maintain.

16. 320.

FELLOW-CITIZENS, if we are faithful to our country, if we acquiesce, with good will, in the decisions of the majority, and the Nation moves in mass in the same direction, although it may not be that which every individual thinks best, we have nothing to fear from any quarter.

16. 321.

IF, IN MY retirement to the humble station of a private citizen, I am accompanied with the esteem and approbation of my fellow-citizens, trophies obtained by the blood-stained steel, or the tattered flags of the tented field, will never be envied. The care of human life and happiness, and not their destruction, is the first and only legitimate object of good government.

16. 359.

SOLE depositaries of the remains of human liberty, our duty to ourselves, to posterity, and to mankind, call on us by every motive which is sacred or honorable, to watch over the safety of our beloved country, during the troubles which agitate and convulse the residue of the world, and to sacrifice to that all personal and local considerations.

16. 362.

IF THEY have done you no wrong, have you a right to make war upon innocent and unoffending people? Be assured that the Great Spirit will not approve of this—He did not make men strong that they might destroy all other men. If your young men think that in this way they will acquire honor as great warriors, they are mistaken. Nobody can acquire honor by doing what is wrong.

16. 444.

I HAVE ever found in my progress through life, that acting for the public, if we do always what is right, the approbation denied in the beginning will surely follow us in the end. It is from posterity we are to expect remuneration for the sacrifices we are making for their service of time, quiet, and good will. And I fear not the appeal.

16. 99.

THIS LETTER will, to you, be as one from the dead. The writer will be in the grave before you can weigh its counsels. . . . Adore God. Reverence and cherish your parents. Love your neighbor as yourself, and your country more than yourself. Be just. Be true. Murmur not at the ways of Providence. So shall the life into which you have entered be the portal to one of eternal and ineffable happiness. . . .

16. 110.

A DECALOGUE of canons for observation in practical life:

16. 111.

1. Never put off till to-morrow what you can do to-day.
2. Never trouble another for what you can do yourself.
3. Never spend your money before you have it.
4. Never buy what you do not want, because it is cheap: it will be dear to you.
5. Pride costs us more than hunger, thirst, and cold.
6. We never repent of having eaten too little.
7. Nothing is troublesome that we do willingly.
8. How much pain have cost us the evils which have never happened.
9. Take things always by their smooth handle.
10. When angry, count ten, before you speak; if very angry, an hundred.

WHEN men meet together, they will make business if they have none; they will collate their grievances; some real, some imaginary, all highly painted; they will communicate to each other the sparks of discontent; and these may engender a flame which will consume their particular, as well as the general, happiness.

17. 91.

. . . . An industrious farmer occupies a more dignified place in the scale of beings, whether moral or political, than a lazy lounger, valuing himself on his family, too proud to work, and drawing out a miserable existence, by eating on the surplus of other men's labor, which is the sacred fund of the helpless poor.

I LONG to be in the midst of the children, and have more pleasure in their little follies than in the wisdom of the wise. . . .

18. 234.

AS FOR myself, I weaken very sensibly, yet with such a continuance of good health as makes me fear I shall wear out very tediously, which is not what one would wish. I see no comfort in outliving one's friends, and remaining a mere monument of the times which are past. I withdraw myself as much as possible from politics, and gladly shelter myself under the wings of the generation for which, in our day, we have labored faithfully to provide shelter.

18. 297.

MINE IS the next turn, and I shall meet it with good will, for after one's friends are all gone before them, and our faculties leaving us, one by one, why wish to linger in mere vegetation—as a solitary trunk in a desolate field, from which all its former companions have disappeared?
18. 310.

THE SOCIETY of our children is the sovereign balm of life, and the older we grow the more we need it to fill up the void made by the daily losses of the companions and friends of our youth.
18. 320.

Chapter IV.

Religious Views

THE laws of nature have withheld from us the means of physical knowledge of the country of spirits, and revelation has for reasons unknown to us, chosen to leave us in the dark, as we were. When I was young I was fond of the speculations which seemed to promise some insight into that hidden country, but observing at length that they left me in the same ignorance in which they found me, I have for many years ceased to read or think concerning them, and have reposed my head upon the pillow of ignorance which a benevolent Creator has made so soft for us, knowing how much we should have use for it.

10. 299.

I have thought it better, by nourishing the good passions and controlling the bad, to merit an inheritance in a state of being of which I can know but little, and to trust for the future to Him who has been so good for the past.

TO the corruptions of Christianity I am, indeed, opposed; but not to the genuine precepts of Jesus himself. I am a Christian in the only sense in which he wished any one to be; sincerely attached to his doctrines in preference to all others; ascribing to himself every human excellence; and believing he never claimed any other. . . . It behooves every man who values liberty of conscience for himself, to resist invasions of it in the case of others; or their case may, by change of circumstances, become his own.

10. 379.

AS to myself, my religious reading has long been confined to the moral branch of religion, which is the same in all religions, while in that branch which consists of dogmas, all differ, all have a different set.

12. 237.

OF all the systems of morality, ancient or modern, which have come under my observation, none appear to me so pure as that of Jesus. He who follows this steadily need not, I think, be uneasy, although he cannot comprehend the subtleties and mysteries erected on his doctrines by those who, calling themselves his special followers and favorites would make him come into the world to lay snares for all understandings but theirs. . . . in all essential points you and I are of the same religion and I am too old to go into inquiries and changes of the unessential.

13. 377.

MY principle is to do whatever is right, and leave consequences to him who has the disposal of them.

13. 387.

IN extracting the pure principles which (Jesus) taught, we should have to strip off the artificial vestments in which they have been muffled by priests, who have travestied them into various forms, as instruments of riches and power to themselves . . . there will be found remaining the most sublime and benevolent code of morals which has ever been offered to man.

13. 389.

THE doctrines which flowed from the lips of Jesus himself are within the comprehension of a child; but thousands of volumes have not yet explained the Platonisms engrafted on them.

14. 149.

DISPUTE as long as we will on religious tenets, our reason at last must ultimately decide, as it is the only oracle which God has given us to determine

what really comes from him, and the phantasms of a disordered or deluded imagination. When He means to make personal revelation, He always carries conviction
14. 197. of its authenticity, to the reason, He has bestowed as the Umpire of truth. You believe you have been favored with such a special communication. Your reason not mine, is to judge of this; and if it shall be His pleasure to favor me with a like admonition, I shall obey it with the same fidelity with which I would obey His known will in all cases. Hitherto I have been under the guidance of that portion of reason which He has thought proper to deal out to me. I have followed it faithfully in all important cases, to such a degree at least as leaves me without uneasiness; and if on minor occasions I have erred from its dictates, I have trust in Him who made us what we are, and know it was not His plan to make us always unerring. He has formed us moral agents. Not that in the perfection of His state, He can feel pain or pleasure at anything we do; He is far above our power, but that we may promote the happiness of those with whom he has placed us in society, by acting honestly towards all, benevolently to those who fall within our way, respecting sacredly their rights, bodily and mental and cherishing especially their freedom of conscience as we value our own.

I must ever believe that religion substantially good which produces an honest life, and we have been authorized by one whom you and I equally respect, to judge of the tree by its fruit. Our particular principles of religion are a subject of accountability to our God alone. I enquire after no man's, and trouble none with mine nor is it given to us in this life to know whether yours or mine, our friends or our foes, are exactly right. Nay we have heard it said there is not a Quaker or a Baptist, a Presbyterian or an Episcopalian, a Catholic or a Protestant in heaven; that on entering that

gate, we leave those badges of schism behind, and find ourselves united in those principles only in which God has united us all. Let us not be uneasy then about the different roads we may pursue, as believing them the shortest, to that our last abode but following the guidance of a good conscience let us be happy in the hope that by these different paths we shall all meet in the end.

I NEVER told my own religion, nor scrutinized that of another. I never attempted to make a convert, nor wished to change another's creed. I have ever judged of anothers religion by their lives . . . for it is from our lives, and not from our words, that our religion must be read. By the same test the world must judge me.
15. 60.

I HOLD (without appeal to revelation) that when we take a view of the universe, in its parts, general or particular, it is impossible for the human mind not to perceive and feel a conviction of design, consummate skill, and indefinite power in every atom of its composition. The movements of the heavenly bodies, so exactly held
15. 426. in their course by the balance of centrifugal and centripetal forces the structure of the Earth itself, with its distribution of lands, waters and atmosphere; animal and vegetable bodies, examined in all their minutest particles; insects, mere atoms of life, yet as perfectly organized as man or mammoth; the mineral substances, their generation and uses, it is impossible, I say, for the human mind not to believe, that there is in all this, design, cause and effect, up to an ultimate cause, a Fabricator of all things from matter and motion, their Preserver and Regulator, while permitted to exist in their present forms, and their regeneration into new and other forms. We see, too, evident

proofs of the necessity of a superintending power, to maintain the universe in its course and order. Stars, well known, have disappeared, new ones have come into view; comets in their incalculable courses, may run foul of suns and planets, and require renovation under other laws; certain races of animals have become extinct; and were there no restoring power, all existence might extinguish successively, one by one, until all should be reduced to a simple chaos. So irresistible are these evidences of an Intelligent, and powerful Agent, that, of the infinite numbers of men who have existed through all time, they have believed, in the proportion of a million at least to unit, in the hypothesis of an eternal pre-existence of a Creator, rather than in that of a pre-existent Universe. Surely this unanimous sentiment renders this more probable.

Chapter V

Educational Views

LET what will be said or done, preserve your sang-froid immovably and to every obstacle, oppose patience, perseverance and soothing language.
8. 316.

THE study of the law is useful in a variety of points of view. It qualifies a man to be useful to himself, to his neighbors and to the public. It is the most certain stepping stone in a political line.
8. 17.

WE owed it to do, not what would perish with ourselves, but what would remain, be respected, and preserved through other ages. And we fondly hope that the instruction which may flow from this institution (University of Virginia), kindly cherished, by advancing the minds of our youth with the growing science of the times, and elevating the views of our citizens generally to the practice of the social duties, and the functions of self-government, may insure to our country the reputation, the safety and prosperity, and all the other blessings which experience proves to result from the cultivation and improvement of the human mind. . . . No nation is permitted to live in ignorance with impunity.
19. 407.

IT was not however to be understood that instruction in religious opinion and duties was meant to be precluded by the public authorities, as indifferent to the interests of society. On the contrary, the relations which exist between

man and his Maker, and the duties resulting from those relations, are the most interesting and important to
19. 414. every human being, and the most incumbent on his study and investigation.

WHILE you endeavor, by a good store of learning to prepare yourself to become an useful and distinguished member of your country, you must remember that this can never be without uniting merit with your learning. Honesty, disinterestedness and good nature are indispensable to procure the esteem and con-
19. 241. fidence of those with whom we live, and on whose esteem our happiness depends. Never suffer a thought to be harbored in your mind which you would not avow openly. When tempted to do anything in secret ask yourself if you would do it in public. If you would not, be sure it is wrong. In little disputes with your companions, give way rather than insist on trifles. For their love and the approbation of others will be worth more to you than the trifle in dispute. Above all things and at all times practice yourself in good humor. Whenever you feel a warmth of temper rising, check it at once, and suppress it, recollecting it will make you unhappy within yourself and disliked by others. Nothing gives one person so much advantage over another as to remain always cool and unruffled under all circumstances. Think of these things, practice them, and you will be rewarded by the love and confidence of the world.

IT is an axiom in my mind that our liberty can never be safe but in the hands of the people themselves, and that, too, of the people with a certain degree of instruction. This it is the business of the State to effect and on a general plan.
19. 24.

WE thought a systematic plan of education should be proposed, and I was requested to undertake it. I accordingly prepared three bills . . . proposing three distinct grades of education reaching all classes. 1st. Elementary schools, for all children generally, rich and poor. 2nd. Colleges, for a middle degree of instruction, calculated for the common purposes of life, and such as would be desirable for all who were in easy circumstances. And, 3rd, an ultimate grade for teaching the sciences generally, and in their highest degree.

1. 71.

The first bill proposed to lay off every county into wards, of a proper size and population for a school, in which reading, writing, and common arithmetic should be taught; and that the whole State should be divided into . . . districts, in each of which should be a school for classical learning, grammar, geography, and the higher branches of numerical arithmetic. The Second bill proposed to amend the Constitution of William & Mary College, to enlarge its sphere of science, and to make it in fact a University. The Third was for the establishment of a library.

THE Objects of Primary Education: 1. To give to every citizen the information he needs for the transaction of his own business.

2. To enable him to calculate for himself, and to express and preserve his ideas, his contracts and accounts in writing.

3. To improve by reading his morals and faculties.

4. To understand his duties to his neighbors and country, and to discharge with competence the functions confided to him by either.

5. To know his rights; to exercise with order and justice those he retains; to choose with discretion the fiduciary of those he delegates and to notice their conduct with diligence, with candor and judgment.

2.12.

6. And in general, to observe with intelligence and faithfulness all the social relations under which he may be placed.

HISTORY, by apprising (men) of the past, will enable them to judge of the future; it will avail them of the experience of other times and other nations; it will qualify them as judges of the actions and designs of men; it will enable them to know ambition under every disguise it may assume; and knowing it, to defeat its views.

1. 207. In every government on earth is some trace of human weakness, some germ of corruption and degeneracy, which cunning will discover, and wickedness insensibly open, cultivate and improve. Every government degenerates when entrusted to the rulers of the people alone. The people themselves therefore are its only safe depositories. And to render even them safe their minds must be improved to a certain degree. This indeed is not all that is necessary, though it be essentially necessary. . . . The influence over government must be shared among all the people. If every individual which composes their mass participates of the ultimate authority, the government will be safe; because the corrupting (of) the whole mass will exceed any private sources of wealth; and public ones cannot be provided but by levies on the people. . . . It has been thought that corruption is restrained by confining the right of suffrage to a few of the wealthier people; but it would be more effectually restrained by an extension of that right to such members as would bid defiance to the means of corruption.

I SAT down with a design of executing your request to form a catalogue of books. . . . A view of the second column in the catalogue would, I presume, extort a smile from the face of gravity. Peace to its wisdom! Let

me not awaken it. A little attention however to the nature of the human mind evinces that the entertainments
4. 237. of fiction are useful as well as pleasant. That they are pleasant when well written every person feels who reads. But wherein is its utility, asks the reverend sage, big with the notion that nothing can be useful but the learned lumber of Greek and Roman reading with which his head is stored? I answer, everything is useful which contributes to fix the principles and practices of virtue. When any original act of charity or of gratitude, for instance, is presented either to our sight or imagination, we are deeply impressed with its beauty and feel a strong desire in ourselves of doing charitable and grateful acts also. On the contrary, when we see or read of an atrocious deed, we are disgusted with its deformity, and conceive an abhorrence of vice. Now every emotion of this kind is an exercise of our virtuous dispositions, and dispositions of the mind, like the limbs of the body, acquire strength by exercise. But exercise produces habit . . . we never think whether the story we read be truth or fiction. If the painting be lively, and a tolerable picture of nature, we are thrown into a revery, from which if we awaken, it is the fault of the writer. . . . The field of imagination is thus laid open to our use, and lessons may be formed to illustrate and carry home to the heart every moral rule of life. Thus a lively and lasting sense of filial duty is more effectually impressed upon the mind of a son or daughter by reading King Lear, than by all the dry volumes of ethics, and divinity that ever were written. This is my idea of well written Romance, of Tragedy, Comedy, and Epic Poetry.

DEAR PETER—. . . Time now begins to be precious to you. Every day you lose will retard a day your entrance on the public stage whereon you may begin to be useful to yourself. However, the way to repair

the loss is to improve the future time. I trust that with your dispositions, even the acquisition of science is a
5. 82. pleasing employment. I can assure you, that the possession of it is, what (next to an honest heart) will above all things render you dear to your friends, and give you fame and promotion in your own country. . . . When your mind shall be well improved with science, nothing will be necessary to place you in the highest points of view, but to pursue the interests of your country, the interests of your friends, and your own interests, too, with the purest integrity, the most chaste honor. The defect of these virtues can never be made up by all the acquirements of body and mind. Make these then your first object. Give up money, give up fame, give up science, give the earth itself and all it contains, rather than do an immoral act. And never suppose, that in any possible situation, or under any circumstances, it is best for you to do a dishonorable thing, however slightly so it may appear to you. Whenever you are to do a thing, though it can never be known to any but yourself, ask yourself how you would act were all the world looking at you, and act accordingly. Encourage all your virtuous dispositions, and exercise them whenever an opportunity arises; being assured they will gain strength by exercise, as a limb of the body does, and that exercise will make them habitual. From the practise of the purest virtue, you may be assured you will derive the most sublime comforts in every moment of life, and in the moment of death. If ever you find yourself environed with difficulties, and perplexing circumstances, out of which you are at a loss how to extricate yourself, do what is right, and be assured that that will extricate you out of the labyrinth, in the easiest manner possible. The knot which you thought a Gordian one will untie itself before you. Nothing is so mistaken a supposition that a person is to extricate himself from a difficulty,

by intrigue, by chicanery, by dissimulation, by trimming, by an untruth, by an injustice. This increases the difficulties tenfold; and those, who pursue these methods, get themselves so involved at length, that they can turn no way but their infamy becomes more exposed. It is of great importance to set a resolution, not be shaken, never to tell an untruth. There is no vice so mean, so pitiful, so contemptible; and he who permits himself to tell a lie once, finds it much easier to do it a second and third time, till at length it becomes habitual; he tells lies without attending to it, and truths without the world believing him. This falsehood of tongue leads to that of the heart, and in time depraves all its good dispositions. An honest heart being the first blessing, a knowing head is the second . . . in order to insure a certain progress in reading, consider what hours you have free from the school and the exercises of the school. Give about two of them every day to exercise; for health must not be sacrificed to learning. A strong body makes the mind strong. As to the species of exercise I advise the gun. While this gives a moderate exercise to the body, it gives boldness, enterprise and independence to the mind. Games played with the ball, and others of that nature, are too violent for the body and stamp no character on the mind. Let your gun, therefore, be the constant companion of your walks. Never think of taking your book with you. The object of walking is to relax the mind. You should therefore not permit yourself even to think while you walk; but divert yourself by the objects surrounding you. Walking is the best possible exercise. Habituate yourself to walk very far. The Europeans value themselves on having subdued the horse to the uses of man; but I doubt whether we have not lost more than we have gained, by the use of this animal. No one has occasioned so much the degeneracy of the human body. An Indian goes on foot nearly as far in a day,

for a long journey, as an enfeebled white does on his horse, and he will tire the best horses. There is no habit you will value so much as that of walking far without fatigue. I would advise you to take your exercise in the afternoon: not because it is the best time for exercise, for certainly it is not; but because it is the best time you can spare from your studies; and habit will soon reconcile it to your health, and render it nearly as useful to you as if you gave to that the more precious hours of the day. A little walk of half an hour, in the morning, when you first arise, is advisable also. It shakes off sleep, and produces other good effects in the animal economy. Rise at a fixed and early hour also. Sitting up late at night is injurious to the health, and not useful to the mind. Having ascribed proper hours to exercise, divide what remain (I mean of your vacant hours) into three portions. Give the principal to history, the other two, which should be shorter, to Philosophy and poetry. . . . The plan I have proposed for you is adapted to your present situation only. When that is changed I will propose a corresponding change of plan. . . . I have nothing further to add for the present, but husband well your time, cherish your instructors, strive to make everybody your friend. . . .

(Letter to Peter Carr, 1785.)

WITH respect to what are termed polite manners, without sacrificing too much the sincerity of language, I would wish my countrymen to adopt just so much of European politeness, as to be ready to make all those little sacrifices of self, which really render European manners amiable, and relieve society from the disagreeable scenes to which rudeness often subjects it. Here, it seems that a man might pass a life without encountering a single rudeness. In the pleasures of the table they are far before us, because, with good

5. 150.

taste they unite temperance. They do not terminate the most sociable meals by transforming themselves into brutes. I have never yet seen a man drunk in France, even among the lowest of the people.

WHY send an American youth to Europe for education? If he goes to England he learns drinking, horse-racing and boxing. These are the peculiarities of English education. The following circumstances are common to education in that, and the other countries of Europe. He acquires a fondness for European luxury and dissipation, and a contempt for the simplicity of his own country; he is fascinated with the privileges of the European aristocrats, and sees, with abhorrence, the lovely equality which the poor enjoy with the rich in his own country; he contracts a partiality for aristocracy . . . he forms foreign friendships which will never be useful to him, and loses the seasons of life for forming, in his own country, those friendships, which of all others, are the most faithful and permanent; he is led by the strongest of all human passions, into a spirit of female intrigue, destructive of his own and others happiness, or a passion for whores, destructive of his health, and in both cases, learns to consider fidelity to the marriage bed as an ungentlemanly practice, and inconsistent with happiness; he recollects the voluptuary dress and arts of the European women, and pities and despises the chaste affections and simplicity of those of his own country; he retains through life a fond recollection, and a hankering after those places, which were the scenes of his first pleasures and his first connections; he returns to his own country a foreigner; unacquainted with the practices of domestic economy, necessary to preserve him from ruin, speaking and writing his native tongue as a foreigner, and therefore unqualified to

5. 185.

obtain those distinctions, which eloquence of the pen and tongue insures in a free country. For I would observe to you, that what is called style in writing or speaking is formed very early in life, while the imagination is warm and impressions are permanent. . . . It appears to me, then, that an American coming to Europe for education, loses in his knowledge, in his morals, in his health, in his habits, and in his happiness. I had entertained only doubts on this head before I came to Europe; what I see and hear, since I came here, proves more than I had even suspected. Cast your eye over America: who are the men of most learning, of most eloquence, most beloved by their countrymen and most trusted and promoted by them? They are those who have been educated among them, and whose manners, morals, and habits, are perfectly homogeneous with those of the country.

OUR act for Freedom of Religion is extremely applauded. I think it will produce considerable good even in these countries, where ignorance, superstition, poverty, and oppression of body and mind, in every form, are so firmly settled on the mass of the people, that their redemption from them can never be hoped.

5. 394. If all the sovereigns of Europe were to set themselves to work, to emancipate the minds of their subjects from their present ignorance and prejudices, and that as zealously as they now do to the contrary, a thousand years would not place them on that high ground, on which our common people are now setting out. Ours could not have been so fairly placed under the control of the common-sense of the people, had they not been separated from their parent stock, and kept from contamination, either from them or the other people of the old world, by the intervention of so wide an ocean. To know the worth of this, one must see

the want of it here (Paris). I think by far the most important bill in our whole code, is that for the diffusion of knowledge among the people. No other sure foundation can be devised, for the preservation of freedom and happiness. If anybody thinks that kings, nobles, priests are good conservators of the public happiness, send him here. It is the best school in the Universe to cure him of his folly. He will see here, with his own eyes, that these descriptions of men are an abandoned confederacy against the happiness of the mass of the people.

The omnipotence of their effect cannot be better proved than in this country particularly, where, notwithstanding the finest soil upon earth, the finest climate under heaven, and a people of the most benevolent, the most gay and amiable character of which the human form is susceptible; where such a people, I say, surrounded by so many blessings of nature, are loaded with misery, by kings, nobles and priests, and by them alone. Preach, my dear Sir, a crusade against ignorance; establish and improve the law for educating the common people. Let our countrymen know, that the people alone can protect us against these evils, and that the tax which will be paid for this purpose, is not more than the thousandth part of what will be paid to Kings, priests and nobles, who will rise up among us if we leave the People in ignorance.

I HAVE proposed to you, to carry on the study of law with that of politics and history. Every political measure will forever have an intimate connection with the laws of the land; and he, who knows nothing of these, will always be perplexed and often foiled by adversaries having the advantage of that knowledge over him. Be-
6. 167. sides, it is a source of infinite comfort to reflect, that under every chance of fortune, we have a

resource in ourselves from which we may be able to derive an honorable subsistence. I would therefore not only propose the study, but the practice of the law for some time, to possess yourself of the habit of public speaking. . . . With your talents and industry, with science, and that steadfast honesty which eternally pursues right, regardless of consequences, you may promise yourself everything, but health, without which there is no happiness. An attention to health then, should take place of every other object. The time necessary to secure this by active exercises should be devoted to it, in preference to every other pursuit. I know the difficulty with which a studious man tears himself from his studies, at any given moment of the day. But his happiness and that of his family depend upon it. The most uninformed mind with a healthy body, is happier than the wisest valetudinarian.

MORAL Philosophy. I think it lost time to attend lectures on this branch. He who made us would have been a pitiful bungler, if he had made the rules of our moral conduct a matter of science. For one man of science, there are thousands who are not. What has become of them? Man was destined for society. His morality, therefore, was to be formed for this object. He was endowed with a sense of right and wrong, merely relative to this. This sense is as much a part of his nature, as the sense of hearing, seeing, feeling; . . . the moral sense, or conscience, is as much a part of man as his leg or arm. It is given to all human beings in a greater or less degree. It may be strengthened by exercise, as may any particular limb of the body. This sense is submitted, indeed, in some degree, to the guidance of reason; but it is a small stock which is required for this; even a less one than what we call common

10. 178.

sense. State a moral case to a ploughman and a professor. The former will decide it as well, and often better than the latter, because he has not been led astray by artificial rules. . . . In fine I repeat, you must lay aside all prejudice on both sides, and neither believe nor reject anything, because any other persons or descriptions of persons, have rejected or believed it. Your own reason is the only oracle given you by heaven, and you are answerable for, not the rightness, but uprightness of the decision

TRAVELLING. This makes men wiser, but less happy. When men of sober age travel, they gather knowledge which they may apply usefully for their country; but they are subject ever after to recollections mixed with regret; their affections are weakened by being
6.131. extended over more objects; and they learn new
6.261. habits which cannot be gratified when they return
6.262. home. . . . (To Young men) The glare of pomp and pleasure is analogous to the motion of the blood; it absorbs all their affection and attention, they are torn from it as from the only good in this world and return to their home as to a place of exile and condemnation. . . . Be good, be learned, and be industrious, and you will not want the aid of travelling, to render you precious to your country, dear to your friends, happy within yourself. I repeat my advice, to take a great deal of exercise and on foot. Health is the first requisite after morality. . . .

I DO most anxiously wish to see the highest degrees of education given to the highest degrees of genius, and to all degrees of it, so much as may enable them to read and understand what is going on in the world, and to keep

their part of it going on right: for nothing can keep it right but their own vigilant and distrustful superintendence. I do not believe . . . with the . . . Montaignes, that fourteen out of fifteen men are rogues: I believe a great abatement from that proportion may be made in favor of general honesty. But I have always found that rogues will be uppermost, and I do not know that the proportion is too strong for the higher orders, and for those who rising above the . . . multitude, always contrive to nestle themselves into the places of power and profit. These rogues set out with stealing the peoples good opinion, and then steal from them the right of withdrawing it, by contriving laws and associations against the power of the people themselves.

9. 306.

I AM not a friend to placing young men in populous cities, because they acquire habits and partialities which do not contribute to the happiness of their after life.

11. 242.

NEVER fear the want of business. A man who qualifies himself well for his calling, never fails of employment in it. The foundation you will have laid in legal reading, will enable you to take a higher ground than most of your competitors, and even ignorant men can see who it is that is not one of themselves. Go on then with courage, and you will be sure of success.

8. 385.

COKE LITTLETON was the Universal law book of students and a sounder whig never wrote, nor of profounder learning in the orthodox doctrines of the British Constitution, or in what was called British Liberties.

Our lawyers were then all whigs. But when his black letter text and uncouth but cunning learning got out of
12. 4. fashion, and the honeyed Mansfieldism of Blackstone became the students hornbook, from that moment that profession (the nursery of our Congress) began to slide into toryism, and nearly all the Young brood of lawyers are now of that line. They suppose themselves to be whigs, because they no longer know what Whigism or Republicanism means.

A DETERMINATION never to do what is wrong, prudence and good humor, will go far towards securing to you the estimation of the world. When I recollect that at fourteen years of age the whole care and direction of myself was thrown on myself entirely, without a relation or friend qualified to advise or guide
12. 197. me, and recollect the various sorts of bad company with which I associated from time to time, I am astonished I did not turn off with some of them, and become as worthless to society as they were. I had the good fortune to become acquainted very early with some characters of very high standing, and to feel the incessant wish that I could ever become what they were. Under temptations and difficulties, I would ask myself what would Dr. Small, Mr. Wythe, Peyton Randolph do in this situation? What course in it will insure me their approbation? I am sure that this mode of deciding on my conduct tended more to correctness than any reasoning powers I possessed. Knowing the even and dignified line they pursued I could never doubt for a moment which of two courses would be in character for them. Whereas seeking the same object through a process of moral reasoning, and with the jaundiced eye of youth, I should often have erred. From the circumstances of my position, I was often thrown into the society of horse

racers, card players, fox hunters, scientific and professional men, and of dignified men; and many a time have I asked myself, in the enthusiastic moment of the death of a fox, the victory of a favorite horse, the issue of a question eloquently argued at the bar, or in the great council of the nation, well, which of these kinds of reputation would you prefer? that of a horse jockey? a fox hunter? an orator? or the honest advocate of my countries rights? Be assured, my dear Jefferson, that these little returns into ourselves, this self-catechising habit, is not trifling nor useless, but leads to the prudent selection and steady pursuit of what is right.

I have mentioned good humor as one of the preservatives of our peace and tranquillity. It is among the most effectual, and its effect is so well imitated and aided, artificially, by politeness, that this also becomes an acquisition of first rate value. In truth, politeness is artificial good humor, it covers the natural want of it, and ends by rendering habitual a substitute nearly equivalent to the real virtue. It is the practice of sacrificing to those whom we meet in society, all the little conveniences and preferences which will gratify them, and deprive us of nothing worth a moment's consideration; it is the giving a pleasing and flattering turn to our expressions, which will conciliate others, and make them pleased with us as well as themselves. How cheap a price for the good will of another! When this in return for a rude thing said by another, it brings him to his senses, it mortifies and corrects him in the most salutary way, and places him at the feet of your good nature, in the eyes of the company.

But in stating the prudential rules for our government in society, I must not omit the important one of never entering into dispute or argument with another. I never saw an instance of one of two disputants convincing the other by argument. I have seen many, on their getting warm, becoming rude and shooting one another. Conviction is the

effect of our own dispassionate reasoning, either in solitude or weighing with ourselves dispassionately what we hear from others, standing uncommitted in argument ourselves. It was one of the rules which above all others made Dr. Franklin the most amiable of all men in society, "never to contradict anybody." If he was urged to announce an opinion he did it rather by asking questions, as if for information, or by suggesting doubts. When I hear another express an opinion which is not mine, I say to myself, he has a right to his opinion, as I to mine; why should I question it? His error does me no injury, and shall I become a Don Quixote, to bring all men by force of argument to one opinion? If a fact be misstated, it is probable he is gratified by a belief of it, and I have no right to deprive him of the gratification. If he wants information he will ask for it, and then I will give it in measured terms; but if he still believe his own story, and shows a desire to dispute the fact with me, I hear him and say nothing. It is his affair, not mine, if he prefers error.

There are two classes of disputants most frequently to be met with among us. The first is of young students, just entered the threshold of science, with a first view of its outlines, not yet filled up with the details and modifications which a further progress would bring to their knowledge. The other consists in the ill-tempered and rude men in society, who have taken up a passion for politics. Good humor and politeness never introduce into mixed society, a question on which they foresee there will be a difference of opinion. From both of these classes of disputants, my dear Jefferson, keep aloof, as you would from the infected subjects of yellow fever or pestilence. Consider yourself when with them, as among the patients of Bedlam, needing medical more than moral counsel. Be a listener only, keep within yourself, and endeavor to establish with yourself the habit

of silence, especially on politics. In the fevered state of our country, no good can ever result from any attempt to set one of these zealots to rights, either in fact or principle. They are determined upon the facts they will believe, and the opinions on which they will act. Get by them, therefore, as you would by an angry bull; it is not for a man of sense to dispute the road with such an animal. You will be more exposed than others . . . because of the relation in which you stand to me.

My character is not within their power. It is in the hands of my fellow citizens at large, and will be consigned to honor or infamy by the verdict of the republican mass of our country, according to what themselves have seen, not what their enemies and mine will have said.

I ALWAYS hear with pleasure of institutions for the promotion of knowledge among my countrymen. The people of every country are the only safe guardians of their own rights, and are the only instruments which can be used for their destruction. And certainly they would never consent to be so used were they not deceived. To avoid this, they should be instructed to a certain degree. I have often thought that nothing would do more extensive good at small expense than the establishment of a small circulating library in every county, to consist of a few well chosen books, to be lent to the people of the country, under such regulations as would secure their safe return in due time.

12. 282.

THE boys of the rising generation are to be the men of the next, and the sole guardians of the principles we deliver over to them. . . . Truth and reason are eternal. They have prevailed. And they will eternally

prevail, however in times and places they may be overbourne for a while by violence, military, civil, or ecclesi-
12. 360. astical. The preservation of the holy fire is confided to us by the world, and the sparks which emanate from it will ever serve to kindle it in other quarters of the globe. Numinibus secundis.

AT sixty-seven years of age, I talk of ploughs and harrows, of seeding and harvesting, with my neighbors, and of politics, too, if they choose, with as little reserve as the rest of my fellow citizens, and feel at length, the blessing of being free to say what I think and do what I please, without being responsible to any
12. 368. mortal.

A part of my occupation, and by no means the least pleasing, is the direction of the studies of such young men as ask it. They place themselves in the neighboring village, and have the use of my library and counsel, and make a part of my study. In advising the course of their reading, I endeavor to keep their attention fixed on the main objects of all science, the freedom and happiness of man, so that coming to bear a share in the councils and government of their country, they will keep ever in view the sole objects of all legitimate government.

WHEN sobered by experience, I hope our successors will turn their attention to the advantages of education. I mean of education on the broad scale, and not that of our petty academies, as they call themselves, which are starting up in every neighborhood and where one or two men, possessing Latin and some-
14. 150. times Greek, a knowledge of the Globes, and the first six books of Euclid, imagine and communicate this as the sum of science (knowledge). They commit their pupils to the theatre of the world, with just

taste enough of learning to be alienated from Industrious pursuits, and not enough to do service in the ranks of science. We have some exceptions indeed . . . but the facts I present are general truths.

AND if the Wise be the happy man, as these sages say, he must be virtuous, too; for, without virtue, happiness cannot be. This then is the true scope of all academical emulation.

14. 405.

ENLIGHTEN the people generally, and tyranny and oppression of the body and mind will vanish like evil spirits at the dawn of day. Although I do not, like some enthusiasts, believe that the human condition will ever advance to such a state of perfection as that there shall no longer be pain or vice in the world, yet I believe it susceptible of much improvement, and most of all in matters of government and religion; and that the diffusion of knowledge among the People is to be the instrument by which it is to be effected.

14. 491.

IN a republican nation, whose citizens are to be led by reason and persuasion, and not by force, the art of reasoning becomes of first importance. . . . Amplification is the vice of the modern orator. It is an insult to an assembly of reasonable men, disgusting and revolting instead of persuading. Speeches measured by the hour die with the hour.

16. 30.

ALL eyes are opened, or opening to the rights of man. The general spread of the light of science has already laid open to every view the palpable truth, that the mass of mankind has not been born with saddles

on their backs, nor a favored few booted and spurred, ready to ride them legitimately, by the grace of God.
16. 182.

AVOID the subject of politics in society, and generally shun disputation on every subject, which never did convince an antagonist, and too often alienates a friend, besides being always an uneasy thing to a good tempered society.
18. 253.

OUR University goes on well. As yet it has been a model of order and good behavior, having never yet had occasion for the exercise of a single act of authority. We studiously avoid too much government. We treat students as men and gentlemen, under the guidance mainly of their own discretion. They so consider themselves, and make it their pride to acquire that character for their institution.
18. 341.

Chapter VI.

Summary View of the Rights of British America

REMIND him (George the Third) that our ancestors, before their emigration to America, were the free inhabitants of the British dominions in Europe, and possessed a right, which nature has given to all men, of departing from the Country in which chance, not choice, has placed them, of going in quest of new habitations, and of there establishing new societies, under such laws and regulations as to them shall seem most likely to promote public happiness. . . . America was conquered, and her settlements made and firmly established, at the expense of individuals and not of the British Public. Their own blood was spilt in acquiring lands for their settlement, their own fortunes expended in making that settlement effectual. For themselves they fought, for themselves they conquered, and for themselves alone they have right to hold. . . . That settlement having been thus effected in the Wilds of America, the emigrants thought proper to adopt that system of laws to which they had been accustomed in the Mother Country, and to continue their Union with her, by submitting themselves to the same common sovereign, who was thereby made the central link connecting the several parts of the Empire thus newly multiplied. . . . History has informed us that Bodies of men as well as Individuals, are susceptable of tyranny . . . the true ground on which we declare these acts void, is, that the British Parliament has no authority over us. . . . Scarcely have our minds been able to emerge from the astonishment into which one stroke of Parliamentary thunder has involved us, before another more heavy and more alarming is fallen on us. Single acts of tyranny may be ascribed

I. 185.

to the accidental opinion of the day; but a series of oppressions, begun at a distinguished period, and pursued unalterably through every change of ministers, too plainly prove a deliberate, systematical plan of reducing us to slavery. . . . One free and independent Legislature, hereby (by the act of parliament suspending the Legislature of New York) takes upon itself to suspend the powers of another, free and Independent as itself. . . . Not only the principles of common sense, but the common feelings of human nature must be surrendered up, before His Majesty's subjects here, can be persuaded to believe, that they hold their existence at the will of a British Parliament. . . . Should these governments be dissolved, their property annihilated, and their People reduced to a State of Nature, at the imperious breath of a body of men, whom they never saw, in whom they never confided, and over whom they have no powers of punishment or removal, let their crimes against the American Public be ever so great? Can any one reason be assigned, why one hundred and sixty thousand electors in the Island of Great Britain, should give law to four millions in the States of America, every individual of whom is equal to every individual of them in virtue, in understanding, and in bodily strength? Were this to be admitted, instead of being a free people, as we have hitherto supposed and mean to continue ourselves, we should suddenly be found the slaves, not of one but of one hundred and sixty thousand tyrants; distinguished, too, from all others by this singular circumstance, that they are removed from the reach of fear, the only restraining motive which may hold the hand of a tyrant. . . . There are extraordinary situations which require extraordinary interposition. An exasperated people who feel that they possess power, are not easily restrained within limits strictly regular. A number of them assembled in the town of Boston threw the tea into the Ocean, and dispersed

without doing any other act of violence. . . . On the partial representations of a few ministerial dependents . . . without calling for a party accused, without asking a proof, without attempting a distinction between the guilty and the innocent, the whole of that ancient and wealthy town is in a moment reduced from opulence to beggary . . . not the hundredth part of the inhabitants of that town, had been concerned in the act complained of; many of them were in Great Britain, and in other parts beyond the sea; yet all were involved in one indiscriminate ruin, by a new executive power, unheard of till then, that of a British Parliament. . . . This is administering justice with a heavy hand indeed! By the act for the suppression of riots and tumults in the town of Boston passed also in the last session of Parliament, a murder committed there, is, if the Governor pleases, to be tried in the Court of Kings Bench, in the Island of Great Britain, by a jury of Middlesex . . . and the wretched criminal, if he happen to have offended on the American side, stripped of his privilege of trial by peers of his vicinage, removed from the place where alone evidence could be obtained, without money, without counsel, without friends, without exculpatory proof, is tried before judges predetermined to condemn. The cowards who would suffer a countryman to be torn from the bowels of their society, in order to be thus offered a sacrifice to Parliamentary tyranny, would merit that everlasting infamy, now fixed on the authors of the act! . . . When the Representative body have lost the confidence of their constituents, when they have notoriously made sale of their most valuable rights, when they have assumed to themselves powers which the people never put into their hands, then, indeed, their continuing in office becomes dangerous to the State. . . . From the Nature of things, every society must, at all times, possess within itself the sovereign powers of legislation. The

feelings of human nature revolt against the supposition of a State so situated, as that it may not, in any emergency, provide against dangers which, perhaps, threaten immediate ruin. . . . While those bodies are in existence to whom the people have delegated the powers of legislation, they alone possess and may exercise, those powers. But when they are dissolved . . . the power reverts to the people, who may use it to unlimited extent, either assembling in person, sending deputies, or in any way they think proper.

Can his Majesty thus put down all law under his feet? Can he erect a power superior to that which erected himself? He has done it indeed by force but let him remember that force cannot give right.

Let those flatter who fear: it is not an American art.

To give praise where it is not due might be well for the venal, but would ill beseem those who are asserting the rights of human nature. They know and will therefore, say, that Kings are the servants, not the proprietors of the People. . . . The great principles of right and wrong are legible to every reader; to pursue them, requires not the aid of many counsellors.

The whole art of government consists in the art of being honest. Only aim to do your duty and mankind will give you credit where you fail. No longer persevere in sacrificing the rights of one part of the Empire to the inordinate desires of another; but deal out to all equal and impartial right. Let no act be passed by one legislature which may infringe on the rights and liberties of another. . . . It is neither our wish nor our interest to separate from her (England). We are willing on our part to sacrifice everything which reason can ask, to the restoration of that tranquility for which all must wish. . . . The God who gave us life, gave us liberty at the same time: the hand of force may destroy, but cannot disjoin them. . . . This, Sire, is our last, our determined resolution.

Chapter VII.

Basic Principles of Government

WHEN in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the Earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect for the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

19. 278.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence indeed will dictate that governments long established shall not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

THE Stamp act was passed in February, 1765. What powers the Parliament might rightfully exercise over us, and whether any, had never been declared either by them or us. They had very early taken the gigantic step of passing the Navigation act. The colonies remonstrated violently against it, and one of them, Virginia, when she capitulated to the Commonwealth of England, expressly stipulated for a free trade. This was as little regarded as the original right, restored by it, had been. . . . When they (parliament) proposed to consider us merely as objects of taxation, all the States took alarm. . . . Sound heads saw in the first moment, that he who could put down the loom, could stop the spinning wheel, and he who could stop the spinning wheel could tie the hands which turned it. . . . Who were to be judges whether duties were imposed with a view to burden and suppress a branch of manufacture, or to raise a revenue? If either party exclusively of the other, it was plain where that would end. If both parties, it was plain where that would end also. They saw, therefore, no sure clue to lead them out of their difficulties but reason and right. They dared to follow them assured that they (reason and right) alone could lead them to defensible ground. The first elements of reason showed that the members of Parliament could have no power which the people of the several counties had not. That these had naturally a power over their own farms, and collectively over all England. That if they had any power over countries out of England, it must be founded on compact or force. No compact could be shown. . . . (133) This is a luminous idea, and worthy of being a little more developed. It places the question between England and America in the simplest form possible. No Englishman can pretend that a right to participate in government can be derived from any other source than a per-

17. 125.

sonal right, or a right of property. The conclusion is inevitable that he, who had neither his person nor property in America, could not rightfully assume a participation in its government.

CONQUEST is not in our principles; it is inconsistent with our government.
17. 396.

PRIMA facie, it accorded well with two favorite ideas of mine, of leaving commerce free, and never keeping an unnecessary soldier.
17. 330.

THE only orthodox object of the institution of government is to secure the greatest degree of happiness possible to the general mass of those associated under it. The events which this work proposes to embrace will establish the fact that unless the mass retains sufficient control over those intrusted with the powers of government, these will be perverted to their own oppression, and to the perpetuation of wealth and power in the individuals and their families selected for the trust.
13. 135.

I HAVE indeed two great measures at heart, without which no republic can maintain itself in strength. 1. That of general education, to enable every man to judge for himself what will secure or endanger his freedom. 2. To divide every county into hundreds, and of such size that all the children of each will be within reach of a central school in it. But this division looks to many other fundamental provisions. . . . These little republics would be the main strength of the
12. 393.

great one. We owe to them the vigor given to our revolution in its commencement in the Eastern States, and by them the Eastern States were enabled to repeal the embargo in opposition to the Middle, Southern and Western States, and their large and lubberly division into counties which can never be assembled. General orders are given out from the centre to the foreman of every hundred, as to the sergeants of an army, and the whole nation is thrown into energetic action, in the same direction in one instant, as one man, and becomes absolutely irresistible. Could I once see this I should consider it as the dawn of the Salvation of the republic, and say with old Simion, "Nunc Dimittis, Domine." But our children will be as wise as we are and will establish in the fullness of time those things not yet ripe for establishment. So be it.

I OWN I am not a friend to a very energetic government. It is always oppressive. It places the governors indeed more at their ease, at the expense of the people. The late rebellion in Massachusetts has given more alarm than I think it should have done. . . . Nor will any degree of power in the hands of government prevent insurrections. In England, where the hand of power is heavier than with us, there are seldom less than half a dozen years without an insurrection. In Turkey, where the sole nod of the despot is death, insurrections are the events of every day. . . . And say finally whether peace is best preserved by giving energy to the government, or information to the people. This last is the most certain, and the most legitimate engine of government. Educate and inform the mass of the people. Enable them to see that it is to their interest to preserve peace and order, and they will preserve them. And it requires no very high degree of education to convince them of this. They are the only sure re-

6. 391.

liance for the preservation of our liberty. After all, it is my principle that the will of the majority should prevail . . . this reliance cannot deceive us as long as we remain virtuous; and I think we shall be so, as long as agriculture is our main object, which will be the case, while there remain vacant lands in any part of America. When we get piled upon one another in large cities, as in Europe, we shall become corrupt as in Europe, and go to eating one another as they do there.

WHERE does this anarchy exist? Where did it ever exist except in the single instance of Massachusetts? And can history produce an instance of rebellion so honorably conducted? I say nothing of its motives. They were founded in ignorance, not wickedness. God forbid we should ever be twenty years without such a rebellion. The people cannot be all, and always well informed. That which is wrong will be discontented, in proportion to the importance of the facts they misconceive. If they remain quiet under such misconceptions, it is a lethargy, the forerunner of death to the public liberty. We have had thirteen States independent for eleven years. There has been one rebellion. That comes to one rebellion in a century. What country before ever existed a century and a half without a rebellion? And what country can preserve its liberties, if its rulers are not warned from time to time, that this people preserve the spirit of resistance? Let them take arms. The remedy is to set them right as to facts, pardon and pacify them. What signify a few lives lost in a century or two? The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time, with the blood of patriots and tyrants. It is its natural manure.

6. 371.

THIS uneasiness has produced acts entirely unjustifiable, but I hope they will provoke no severities from their governments. A consciousness of those in power that their administration of the public affairs has been honest, may, perhaps, produce too great a degree of indignation; and those characters, wherein fear predominates over hope, may apprehend too much from these instances of irregularity. They may conclude too hastily, that nature has formed man insusceptible of any other government than that of force, a conclusion not founded in truth nor experience. Societies exist under three forms, sufficiently distinguishable. 1. Without government, as among our Indians. 2. Under governments wherein the will of every one has a just influence; as is the case in England, in a slight degree, and in our States, in a great one. 3. Under Governments of force; as is the case in all other monarchies, and in most of the other republics. To have an idea of the curse of existence under these last, they must be seen. It is a government of wolves over sheep. It is a problem not clear in my mind, that the first condition is not the best. But I believe it to be inconsistent with any great degree of population. The second state has a great deal of good in it. The mass of mankind under that, enjoys a precious degree of liberty and happiness. It has its evils, too; the principal of which is the turbulence to which it is subject. But weigh this against the oppressions of monarchy, and it becomes nothing. . . . Even this evil is productive of good. It prevents the degeneracy of government, and nourishes a general attention to the public affairs. I hold it that a little rebellion, now and then, is a good thing, and as necessary in the political world as the storms in the physical. Unsuccessful rebellions, indeed, generally establish the encroachments on the rights of the people, which have produced them. An observation of this truth should render

6. 64.

honest republican governors so mild in their punishment of rebellions, as not to discourage them too much. It is a medicine necessary to the health of government.

THEY (Congress) will restrain within due bounds a jurisdiction exercised by others, much more rigorously than if exercised by themselves.
6. 131.

TO make us one nation as to foreign concerns, and keep us distinct in domestic ones, gives the outline of the proper division of powers between the general and particular governments.
6. 8.

WITHOUT society, and a society to our taste, men are never contented.
6. 15.

I CAN never fear that things will go wrong where common sense has fair play.
6. 19.

I AM persuaded myself that the good sense of the people will always be found to be the best army. They may be led astray for a moment, but will soon correct themselves. The people are the only censors of their governors; and even their errors will tend to keep these to the true principles of their institution. To punish these errors too severely would be to suppress the only safeguard of the public liberty. The way to prevent these irregular interpositions of the people is to give
6. 55.

them full information of their affairs through the channel of the public papers, and to contrive that those papers should penetrate the whole mass of the people. The basis of our governments being the opinion of the people, the very first object should be to keep that right; and were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter. But I should mean that every man was to receive those papers, and be capable of reading them.

I am convinced that those societies (as the Indians) which live without government, enjoy in their general mass a greater degree of happiness than those who live under the European governments. Among the former, public opinion is in the place of the law, and restrains morals as powerfully as laws ever did anywhere. Among the latter, under pretence of governing, they have divided their nations into two classes, wolves and sheep. I do not exaggerate. This is a true picture of Europe. Cherish therefore the spirit of our people, and keep alive their attention. Do not be too severe upon their errors, but reclaim them by enlightening them. If once they become inattentive to the public affairs, you and I, and Congress and Assemblies, Judges and Governors, shall all become wolves. It seems to be the law of our general nature, in spite of individual exceptions; and experience declares that man is the only animal which devours his own kind, for I can apply no milder term to the governments of EUROPE, and the general prey of the rich on the poor.

WERE armies to be raised whenever a speck of war is visible in our horizon, we never should have been without them. Our resources would have been exhausted on dangers which have never happened.

Instead of being reserved for what is really to take place.

3. 425. A steady, perhaps a quickened pace, in preparations for defence of our seaport towns and waters; an early settlement of the most exposed and vulnerable parts of our country; a militia so organized that its effective portions can be called to any portion of the Union, or volunteers instead of them to serve a sufficient time, are means which may always be ready, yet never preying upon our resources until actually called into use. They will maintain the public interests while a more permanent force is in course of preparation. But much will depend upon the promptitude with which these means can be brought into activity. If war be forced upon us in spite of our long and vain appeals to the justice of nations, rapid and vigorous movements in its outset will go far toward securing us in its course and issue, and toward throwing its burdens upon those who render necessary the resort from reason to force.

3. 227. I CONSIDER the people who constitute a society or nation as the source of all authority in that nation; as free to transact their common concerns by any agents they think proper; to change these agents individually, or the organization of them in form or function whenever they please; that all the acts done by these agents under the authority of the nation, are the acts of the nation, are obligatory to them and inure to their use, and can in no wise be annulled or affected by any change in the form of government, or of the persons administering it, consequently the treaties between the United States and France were not treaties between the U. S. and Louis Capet, but between the two nations of America and France.

Chapter VIII.

General Views

I PROPOSED, therefore, to adopt the Dollar as our unit of account and payment, and that its divisions and subdivisions should be in the decimal ratio. This was adopted . . . and is the system that now prevails.
1. 73.

THE qualifications of self-government in society are not innate. They are the result of habit and long training, and for these they will require time and probably much suffering.
16. 22.

IT is a happy circumstance in human affairs, that evils which are not cured in one way will cure themselves in some other. . . .

I WILLINGLY acquiesce in the institutions of my country, perfect or imperfect; and think it a duty to leave their modifications to those who are to live under them, and are to participate of the good or evil they may produce. The present generation has the same right of self-government which the past one has exercised for itself.
16. 29. And those in the full vigor of body and mind are more able to judge for themselves than those who are sinking under the wane of both.

I THINK, myself, that we have more machinery of government than is necessary, too many parasites living on the labor of the industrious. I believe it might be much simplified to the relief of those who maintain it.
16. 76.

THAT I should lay down my charge at a proper period is as much a duty as to have borne it faithfully. If some termination to the services of the chief magistrate be not fixed by the Constitution or supplied by practice, his office, nominally for years will, in fact, become for life; and history shows how easily that degenerates into an inheritance.

16. 293.

EXCITED by wrongs to reject a foreign government which directed our concerns according to its own interests, and not to ours, the principles which justified us were obvious to all understandings, they were imprinted in the breast of every human being; and Providence ever pleases to direct the issue of our contest in favor of that side where justice was.

16. 317.

A GOVERNMENT regulating itself by what is wise and just for the many, uninfluenced by the local and selfish views of the few who direct their affairs, has not been seen, perhaps, on earth. Or, if it existed, for a moment, at the birth of ours, it would not be easy to fix the term of its existence.

15. 31.

GOVERNMENTS are republican only in proportion as they embody the will of the people, and execute it.

15. 33.

I THANK you, Sir, for the copy of the new constitution of Spain . . . there is one provision which will immortalize its inventors. It is that which, after a certain epoch, disfranchises every citizen who cannot read and

write. This is new, and is the fruitful germ of the improvement of everything good, and the correction of everything imperfect in the present constitution. This will give you an enlightened people, and an energetic public opinion which will control and enchain the aristocratic spirit of the government.

14. 130.

WITHDRAWING myself within the shell of our own State, I have long contemplated a division of it into hundreds or wards, as the most fundamental measure for securing good government, and for instilling the principles and exercise of self-government into every fibre of every member of our commonwealth. . . . It is for some of you young legislators to immortalize yourselves by laying this stone as the basis of our political edifice.

14. 70.

THERE are two subjects, indeed, which I shall claim a right to further as long as I breathe, the public education, and the subdivision of counties into wards. I consider the continuance of republican government as absolutely hanging on these two hooks.

14. 84.

I SEE our safety in the extent of our confederacy, and in the probability that in the proportion of that the sound parts will always be sufficient to crush local poisons.

14. 120.

THE fondest wish of my heart ever was, that the surplus portion of these taxes, destined for the payment of that debt, should when that object was accom-

plished, be continued by annual or biennial enactments, and applied in time of peace, to the improvement of our country by canals, roads and useful institutions, literary or others; and in time of war to the maintenance of the war. For authority to apply the surplus to objects of improvement an amendment to the Constitution would have been necessary.

13. 354.

IT is a comfort that the medal has two sides. I do not myself contemplate human nature in quite so sombre a view. That there is much vice and misery in the world, I know; but more virtue and happiness I believe, at least in our part of it; the latter being the lot of those employed in agriculture in a greater degree than other callings. That we are overdone with banking institutions, which have banished the precious metals, and substituted a more fluctuating and unsafe medium, that these have withdrawn capital from useful improvements and employments to nourish idleness, that the wars of the world have swollen our commerce beyond the wholesome limits of exchanging our own productions for our own wants, and that, for the emolument of a small proportion of our society, who prefer these demoralizing pursuits to labors useful to the whole, the peace of the whole is endangered, and all our present difficulties produced, are evils more easily to be deplored than remedied.

12. 379.

I RECEIVED . . . an offer of Mr. McDonald of an iron mine to the public, and I thank you for taking the trouble of making the communication, as it might have its utility. But having always observed that public works

are much less advantageously managed than the same are by private hands, I have thought it better for the
12. 107. public to go to market for whatever it wants which is to be found there; for their competition brings it down to the minimum of value.

I have no doubt that we could buy brass cannon at market cheaper than we could make iron ones.

IN the construction of a law, even in judiciary cases of meum and teum, where the opposite parties have a right and counter right in the very words of the law, the judge considers the intention of the law giver as his true guide, and gives to all the parts and expressions of the law that meaning which will effect instead of defeat-
11. 318. ing its intention. But in laws merely executive, where no private right stands in the way, and the public object is the interest of all, a much freer scope of construction, in favor of the intention of the law, ought to be taken, and ingenuity ever should be exercised in devising constructions which may save to the public the benefit of the law. Its intention is the important thing; the means of acquiring it quite subordinate. . . . It is further to be considered that the constitution gives the executive a general power to carry the laws into execution.

PERHAPS it will be found that to obtain a just republic (and it is to secure our just rights that we resort to government at all) it must be so extensive as that local egoisms may never reach its greater part; that on every particular question, a majority may be found in its councils free from particular interests, and giving there-
9. 299. fore, an uniform prevalence to the principles of justice . . . it is unfortunate, that the efforts of mankind to recover the freedom of which they have been

so long deprived, will be accompanied with violence, with errors, and even with crimes. But while we weep over the means, we must pray for the ends.

THE little spice of ambition which I had in my younger days has long since evaporated, and I set still less store by a posthumous than present name.

9. 303.

TREASON. This when real, merits the highest punishment. But most codes extend their definitions of treason to acts not really against ones country. They do not distinguish between acts against Government and acts against the oppressions of government; the latter are virtues; yet they have furnished more victims to the executioner than the former; because real treasons are rare; oppressions frequent. The unsuccessful strugglers against tyranny have been the chief martyrs of treason laws in all countries. Reformation of government with our neighbors, being as much wanted now as reformation of religion is, or ever was anywhere, we should not wish them to give up to the executioner the patriot who fails, and flees to us. Treasons, then, taking the simulated with the real, are sufficiently punished by exile.

8. 332.

SUCH is the hospitality . . . in America . . . and their disposition to assist strangers, that he may boldly go to any house he sees, and make the inquiry he needs. He will be sure to be received kindly, honestly informed, and accommodated in a hospitable way, without any other introduction than an information who he is and what are his views. It is not the policy of the government in that country to give any aid to works of any kind. They let things take their natural course without help or impediment, which is generally the best policy.

7. 49.

HAPPY for us that abuses have not yet become patrimonies, and that every description of interest is in favor of national and moderate government. That we are yet able to send our wise and good men together to talk over our form of government, discuss its weakness and establish its remedies with the same sang froid as they would a subject of agriculture. The example we have given to the world is single, that of changing our form of government under the authority of reason only, without bloodshed.

7. 72.

IT is rendering mutual service to men of virtue and understanding to make them acquainted with one another.

6. 424.

THERE are minds which can be pleased by honors and preferments; but I see nothing in them but envy and enmity. It is only necessary to possess them, to know how little they contribute to happiness, or rather how hostile they are to it. No attachments soothe the mind so much as those contracted in early life. . . . I had rather be shut up in a very modest cottage with my books, my family, and a few old friends, dining on simple bacon, and letting the world roll on as it liked, than to occupy the most splendid post which any human power can give. . . .

6. 427.

HAPPILY for us, that when we find our constitutions defective and insufficient to secure the happiness of our people, we can assemble with all the coolness of philosophers, and set it to rights, while every other nation on earth must have recourse to arms to amend or to restore their Constitutions.

6. 295.

THE moment a person forms a theory, his imagination sees in every object only the traits which favor that theory. 6. 312.

I RELY on the good sense of the people for remedy, whereas the evils of monarchical governments are beyond remedy. If any of our countrymen wish for a king, give them Aesop's fable of the frogs who asked a King; if this does not cure them, send them to Europe. They will go back republicans.
6. 225.

I KNOW no condition happier than that of a Virginia farmer might be, conducting himself as he did during the war. His estate supplies a good table, clothes himself and his family with their ordinary wearing apparel, furnishes a small surplus to buy salt, sugar, coffee, and a little finery for his wife and daughters, enables him to receive and visit his friends, and furnishes him pleasing and healthy occupation. To secure all this, he needs but one act of self-denial to put off buying anything until he has the money to pay for it.
6. 229.

BUT, say they, the people have acquiesced, and this has given it an authority superior to the laws. It is true that the people did not rebel against it and was that a time for the people to rise in rebellion? should a prudent acquiescence at a critical time be construed into a confirmation of every illegal thing done during that period? . . . but to what dangerous lengths will this argument lead? Did the acquiescence of the colonies under the various acts of power exercised by Great Britain in our infant State, confirm these acts, and so far invest them with the authority of the people as to
2. 170.

render them unalterable, and our present resistance wrong? On every unauthoritative exercise of power by the legislature must the people rise in rebellion, or their silence be construed into a surrender of that power to them? . . .

OUR ancient laws expressly declare that those who are but delegates themselves shall not delegate to others powers which require judgment and integrity in their exercise.

2. 175.

Chapter IX.

The Constitution

OUR first essay in America, to establish a federative government, had fallen on trial very short of its object. During the war of Independence, while the pressure of an external enemy hooped us together, and their enterprises kept us necessarily alert, the spirit of the people, excited by danger, was a supplement to the Con-
1. 116. federation, and urged them to zealous exertions, whether claimed by that instrument or not; but, when peace and safety were restored, and every man became engaged in useful and profitable occupation, less attention was paid to the calls of Congress. The fundamental defect of the confederation was, that Congress was not authorized to act immediately on the people, and by its own officers. Their power was only requisitory, and these requisitions were addressed to the different legislatures, to be by them carried into execution, without other coercion than the moral principle of duty. This allowed in fact a negative to every legislature, on every measure proposed by Congress; a negative so frequently exercised in practice as to benumb the action of the Federal Government, and to render it inefficient in its general objects, and more especially in pecuniary and foreign concerns. The want, too, of a separation of the Legislative, Executive, and judiciary functions worked disadvantageously in practice. Yet this State of things afforded a happy augury of the future march of our confederacy, when it was seen that the good sense and good dispositions of the People, as soon as they perceived the incompetence of their first compact, instead of leaving its correction to insurrection and civil war, agreed, with one voice, to

elect deputies to a General Convention, who should peaceably meet and agree on such a Constitution as "would insure peace, justice, liberty, the common defence, and general welfare."

The example of four Presidents voluntarily retiring at the end of their eighth year, and the progress of public opinion, that the principle is salutary, have given it in practice the force of precedent and usage; insomuch that should a president consent to become a candidate for a third election, I trust he would be rejected, on this demonstration of ambitious views.

MARCH 11, 1798. Baldwin mentions at table the following fact: when the bank bill was under discussion in the House of Representatives Judge Wilson came in, and was standing by Baldwin. Baldwin reminded him of the following fact which passed in the grand conventions. Among the enumerated powers given to Congress, was one to erect corporations. It was on debate struck out. Several particular powers were then proposed. Among others Robert Morris proposed to give Congress a power to establish a National bank. . . . Whereupon it was rejected, as was every other special power, except that of giving copyrights to authors, and patents to inventors; the general power of incorporating being whittled down to this shred. Wilson agreed to the fact.

1. 423.

OUR new Constitution, of which you speak also, has succeeded beyond what I apprehended it would have done. I did not at first believe that eleven States out of thirteen would have consented to a plan consolidating

them as much into one. A change in their dispositions, which had taken place since I left them, had rendered this consolidation necessary, that is to say, had called for a Federal Government which could walk upon its own legs, without leaning for support on the State legislatures. A sense of necessity and a submission to it, is to me a new and consolatory proof that, whenever the people are well informed, they can be trusted with their own government; that whenever things get so far wrong as to attract their notice, they may be relied on to set them to rights.

7. 253.

I SHALL hazard my own ideas to you as hastily as my business obliges me. I wish to preserve the line drawn by the Federal Constitution between the general and particular governments as it stands at present, and to take every prudent means of preventing either from stepping over it. Though the experiment has not yet had a long enough course to show us from which quarter encroachments are most to be feared, yet it is easy to foresee, from the nature of things, that the encroachments of the state governments will tend to an excess of liberty which will correct itself, while those of the General Government will tend to monarchy, which will fortify itself from day to day, instead of working its own cure, as all experience shows. I would rather be exposed to the inconveniences attending too much liberty, than those attending too small a degree of it. . . . Responsibility is a tremendous engine in a free government. . . .

8. 276.

IT is a fatal heresy to suppose that either our State governments are superior to the Federal, or the Federal to the States. The people to whom all authority belongs, have divided the powers of government into two distinct

departments, the leading characters of which are foreign and domestic; and they have appointed for each a distinct set of functionaries. These they have made co-ordinate, checking and balancing each other. . . . As independent as separate nations, a spirit of forbearance and compromise therefore, and not of encroachment and usurpation, is the healing balm of such a Constitution; and each party should prudently shrink from all approach to the line of demarcation, instead of rashly overleaping it, or throwing grapples ahead to haul to hereafter.

15. 328.

THESE cares are however no longer mine. I resign myself cheerfully to the managers of the ship, and the more contentedly as I am near the end of my voyage. I have learned to be less confident in the conclusions of human reason, and give more credit to contrary opinions. . . . The radical idea of the character of the Constitution of our government, which I have adopted as a key in cases of doubtful construction, is, that the whole field of government is divided into two departments, domestic and foreign (the States in their mutual relations being of the latter); that the former department is reserved exclusively to the respective States within their own limits, and the latter assigned to a separate set of functionaries, constituting what may be called the foreign branch, which, instead of a federal basis, is established as a separate government quoad hoc, acting as the domestic branch does on the citizens directly and coercively; that these departments have distinct directories, co-ordinate, and equally independent and supreme, each within its own sphere of action. Whenever a doubt arises to which of these branches a power belongs, I try it by this test. . . . If we have a doubt, relative to any power, we ought not to

16. 23.

exercise it. When we consider the extensive and deep-seated opposition to this assumption, the conviction entertained by so many that this deduction of powers by elaborate construction, prostrates the rights reserved to the States; the difficulties with which it will rub along in the course of its exercise; that changes of majorities will be changing the system backwards and forwards, so that no undertaking under it will be safe; that there is not a State in the Union which would not give the power willingly, by way of amendment, with some little guard, perhaps, against abuse; I cannot but think it would be the wisest course to ask an express grant of the power. A government held together by the bands of reason only requires much compromise of opinion; that things even salutary should not be crammed down the throats of dissenting brethren, especially when they may be put into a form to be willingly swallowed, and that a great deal of indulgence is necessary to strengthen habits of harmony and fraternity. In such a case it seems to me that it would be safer and wiser to ask an express grant of the power. This would render its exercise smooth and acceptable to all, and insure to it all the facilities which the States could contribute, to prevent that kind of abuse which all will fear, because all know it is so much practised in public bodies, I mean the bartering of votes. It would reconcile every one, if limited by the proviso that the federal proportion of each State should be expended within the State. With this single security against partiality and corrupt bargaining, I suppose there is not a State, perhaps not a man in the Union, who would not consent to add this to the powers of the General Government.

OUR new constitution. This instrument forms us into one State, as to certain objects, and gives us a legislative and executive body for these objects. It

should therefore guard us against their abuses of power, within the field submitted to them . . . half a loaf is better than no bread. If we cannot secure all our rights let us secure what we can . . . the jealousy of the subordinate governments is a precious reliance . . . a brace the more will often keep up the building, which would have fallen with that one brace the less.

7. 309.

The executive in our governments is not the sole, it is scarcely the chief object of my jealousy. The tyranny of the legislatures is the most formidable dread at present, and will be for many years. That of the executive will come in its turn; but it will be at a remote period.

THE several States composing the United States of America, are not united on the principle of unlimited submission to their General Government; but that by a compact under the style and title of a Constitution for the United States and of amendments thereto, they constituted a General Government for special purposes—delegating to that government certain definite powers, reserving, each State to itself, the residuary mass of right to their own self government; and that whensoever the General Government assumes undelegated powers, its acts are unauthoritative, void, and of no force; that to this compact each State acceded as a State, and is an integral party, its co-States forming, as to itself, the other party: that the Government created by this compact was not made the exclusive or final judge of the extent of the powers delegated to itself; since that would have made its discretion, and not the Constitution, the measures of its powers; but that as in all other cases of compact among powers having no common judge, each party has an equal right to judge for itself, as well of infractions as of the mode and measure of redress.

17. 379.

The Constitution of the United States, having delegated to Congress a power to punish treason, counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States, piracies, and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations, and no other crimes whatsoever; and it being true as a general principle, and one of the amendments of the Constitution having so declared, "that the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people," therefore . . . the act to punish frauds committed on the bank of the United States and all other acts which assume to create, define, or punish crimes, other than those so enumerated in the Constitution, are altogether void, and of no force; and that the power to create, define, and punish such other crimes, is reserved, and of right, appertains solely and exclusively to the respective states, each within its own territory. . . . Resolved (385) That a committee of conference and correspondence be appointed, who shall have in charge to communicate the preceding resolutions to the legislatures of the several States; to assure them that this commonwealth continues in the same esteem of their friendship and Union which it has manifested from that moment at which a common danger first suggested a common Union: that it considers Union, for specified national purposes, and particularly to those specified in their late federal compact, to be friendly to the peace, happiness and prosperity of all the States: that faithful to that compact, according to the plain intent and meaning in which it was understood and acceded to by the several parties, it is sincerely anxious for its preservation: that it does also believe that to take from the States all the powers of self-government and transfer them to a general and consolidated government, without regard to the special delegations and reservations solemnly agreed to in that compact, is

not for the peace, happiness or prosperity of these States; and that therefore this Commonwealth is determined, as it doubts not its co-States are, to submit to undelegated, and consequently unlimited powers in no man, or body of men on earth: that in case of an abuse of the delegated powers, the members of the general government, being chosen by the People, a change by the People would be the Constitutional remedy; but, where powers are assumed which have not been delegated, a nullification of the act is the rightful remedy: that every State has a natural right in cases not within the compact, to nullify of their own authority all assumptions of power by others within their limits: that without this right, they would be under the dominion, absolute and unlimited, of whosoever might exercise this right of judgment for them: that nevertheless, this commonwealth, from motives of regard and respect for its co-states, has wished to communicate with them on the subject: that with them alone it is proper to communicate, they alone being parties to the compact, and solely authorized to judge in the last resort of the powers exercised under it, Congress being not a party, but merely the Creature of the compact, and subject as to its assumptions of power to the final judgment of those by whom, and for whose use itself and its powers were all created and modified. Confidence is everywhere the parent of despotism—free government is founded in jealousy, and not in confidence: it is jealousy and not confidence which prescribes limited constitutions, to bind down those whom we are obliged to trust with power; that our Constitution has accordingly fixed the limits to which, and no further, our confidence may go, let the honest advocate of confidence read the alien and sedition acts, and say if the Constitution has not been wise in fixing limits to the Government it created, and whether we should be wise in destroying those limits. . . . In questions of power, let no more be heard of

Confidence in man, but bind him down from mischief by the chains of the Constitution. . . . This Commonwealth does therefore call on its co-States for expression of their sentiments . . . and it doubts not . . . that the co-States, recurring to their natural right in cases not made federal, will concur in declaring these acts void, and of no force, and will each take measures of its own for providing that neither these acts, nor any others of the General Government not plainly and intentionally authorized by the Constitution, shall be exercised within their respective territories.

PROTEST of the Commonwealth of Virginia. Whilst the General Assembly thus declares the rights retained by the States, rights which they have never yielded, and which this State will never voluntarily yield, they do not mean to raise the banner of disaffection, or of separation from their Sister States, co-parties with themselves to this compact. They know and value too highly the blessings of their Union as to foreign nations and questions arising among themselves to consider every infraction as to be met by actual resistance. They respect too affectionately the opinions of those possessing the same rights under the same instrument, to make every difference of construction a ground of immediate rupture. They would, indeed, consider such a rupture as among the greatest calamities which could befall them; but not the greatest. There is one greater, submission to a government of unlimited powers. It is only when the hope of avoiding this shall become absolutely desperate, that further forbearance could not be indulged. Should a majority of the co-parties, therefore, contrary to the expectation and hope of this assembly, prefer, at this time, acquiescence in these assumptions of power by the federal member of the government, we will be patient

17. 445.

and suffer much, under the confidence that time, ere it be too late, will prove to them also the bitter consequences in which that usurpation will involve us all. In the meanwhile, we will breast with them, rather than separate from them, every misfortune, save that only, of living under a government of unlimited powers.

We owe every other sacrifice to ourselves, to our federal brethren, and to the world at large, to pursue with temper and perseverance the great experiment which shall prove that man is capable of living in society, governing itself by laws self-imposed, and securing to its members the enjoyment of life, liberty, property, and peace; and further to show, that even when the government of its choice shall manifest a tendency to degeneracy, we are not at once to despair, but that the will and the watchfulness of its sounder parts will reform its aberrations, recall it to original and legitimate principles, and restrain it within the rightful limits of self-government. . . . Supposing then that it might be for the good of the whole, as some of its co-states seem to think, that the power of making roads and canals should be added to those directly given to the federal branch, as more likely to be systematically and beneficially directed, than by the independent action of the several States, this commonwealth, from respect to these opinions, and a desire of conciliation with its co-states, will consent, in concurrence with them, to make this addition, provided it be done regularly by an amendment of the compact, in the way established by that instrument, and provided also, it be sufficiently guarded against abuses, compromises, and corrupt practices, not only of possible, but of probable occurrence.

THE State is invaded, militia to be called out, an army marched, arms and provisions to be issued from the public magazines, the legislature to be convened, and the council is divided. Can it be believed to have been the

intention of the framers of the Constitution that the Constitution itself and their constituents with it should be destroyed for want of a will to direct the resources they had provided for its preservation? Before such possible consequences all verbal scruples must vanish; construction must be made secundum arbitrium boni veri, and the Constitution be rendered a practicable thing. The exposition of it must be vicious, which would leave the Nation under the most dangerous emergencies without a directing will. The cautious maxims of the Bench to seek the will of the legislator and his words only, are proper and safer for judicial government. They act ever on an individual case only, the evil of which is partial, and gives time for correction. But an instant of delay in executive proceedings may be fatal to the whole nation. They must not therefore be laced up in the rules of the judiciary department. They must seek the intention of the legislator in all the circumstances which may indicate it in the history of the day . . . in reason and practice.

13. 128.

WOULD Congress grant a charter of incorporation and a sum for premiums annually? It has always been denied by the Republican party in this country that the Constitution had given the power of incorporation to Congress. On the establishment of the Bank of the United States this was the great ground on which that establishment was combated and the party prevailing supported it only on the ground of its being an incident to the power given them for raising money. On this ground it has been acquiesced in, and will probably be again acquiesced in as subsequently confirmed by public opinion. But in no instance have they ever exercised this power of incorporation out of this district, of which they are the only legislature.

12. 231.

It is still more settled that among the purposes to which the Constitution permits them to apply money, the granting premiums or bounties is not enumerated, and there has never been a single instance of their doing it, although there has been a multiplicity of applications. The Constitution has left these encouragements to the several States. I have in two or three messages recommended to Congress an amendment to the Constitution, which should extend their power to these objects. But nothing is yet done.

SOME men look at Constitutions with sanctimonious reverence, and deem them like the ark of the covenant, too sacred to be touched. They ascribe to the men of the preceding age a wisdom more than human, and suppose what they did to be beyond amendment. I knew that age well; I belonged to it and labored with it. It deserved well of its country. It was very like the present, but lacked the experience of the present; and forty years of experience in government is worth a century of book reading; and this they would say themselves, were they to rise from the dead. I am certainly not an advocate of frequent and untried changes in laws and Constitutions. I think moderate imperfections had better be borne with; because when once known, we accommodate ourselves to them, and find practical means of correcting their evil effects. But I know also that laws and institutions must go hand and hand with the progress of the human mind. . . . We might as well require a man to wear the coat that fitted him when a boy as civilized society to remain ever under the régime of their ancestors. It is this preposterous idea which has lately deluged Europe in blood. Their monarchs, instead of wisely yielding to the gradual change of circumstances, of favoring progressive accommodation to progressive improvement, have clung to old abuses, entrench-

15. 40.

ed themselves behind steady habits, and obliged their subjects to seek through blood and violence rash and ruinous innovations, which had they been referred to the peaceful deliberations and collected wisdom of the nation, would have been put into acceptable and salutary forms. Let us follow no such examples, nor weakly believe that one generation is not as capable as another of taking care of itself, and of ordering its own affairs. . . . Each generation is as independent of the one preceding as that was of all that had gone before. It has, like them, the right to choose for itself the form of government it believes most promotive of its own happiness; consequently to accommodate to the circumstances in which it finds itself, that received from its predecessors; and it is for the peace and good of mankind that a solemn opportunity of doing this every nineteen or twenty years should be provided by the Constitution, so that it may be handed on with periodical repairs, from generation, to the end of time, if anything human can so long endure. . . .

Chapter X.

The Judiciary

THERE was another amendment, of which none of us thought at the time, and in the omission of which, lurks the germ that is to destroy this happy combination of National powers in the General government, for matters of National concern, and independent powers in the States for what concerns the States severally. . . . Our Judges are effectually independent of the Nation. But this ought not to be. I would not indeed make them dependent upon the Executive authority; as they formerly were in England; but I deem it indispensable to the continuance of this government that they should be submitted to some practical and impartial control; and that this, to be imparted must be compounded of a mixture of State and Federal authorities.

I. 120.

It is not enough that honest men are appointed Judges. All know the influence of interest on the mind of man, and how unconsciously his judgment is warped by that influence. To this bias add Esprit de Corps of their peculiar maxim and creed, that "it is the office of a good Judge to enlarge his jurisdiction," and the absence of responsibility; and how can we expect impartial decision between the General Government, of which they are themselves so eminent a part, and an individual state, from which they have nothing to hope or fear? We have seen too that contrary to all correct example, they are in the habit of going out of the question before them, to throw an anchor ahead, and grapple further hold for future advances of power. They are then, in fact, the corps of sappers and miners, steadily working to undermine the independent rights of the states, and to consolidate all power in the hands of that government in which

they have so important a freehold estate. But it is not by the consolidation or concentration of powers, but by their distribution, that good government is effected. Were not this great country already divided into States, that division must be made, that each might do for itself directly, and what it can so much better do than a distant authority. Every State again is divided into Counties, each to take care of what lies within its particular bounds; each County again into Townships or Wards, to manage minuter details; and every ward into farms to be governed each by its individual proprietor. Were we directed from Washington when to sow and when to reap we should soon want bread. It is by this partition of cares, descending in gradation from general to particular, that the mass of human affairs may be best managed for the good and prosperity of all. I repeat that I do not charge the Judges with wilful and ill-intentioned error; but honest error must be arrested, where its toleration leads to public ruin . . . judges should be withdrawn from the Bench, whose erroneous biases are leading us to dissolution. It may, indeed, injure them in fame and fortune; but it saves the Republic, which is the first and supreme law.

THE dignity and stability of government in all its branches, the morals of the people, and every blessing of society depend so much upon an upright and skilful administration of justice, that the judicial power ought to be distinct from both the legislature and executive, and independent from both, that so it may be a check upon both, as both should be checks upon that. The judges, therefore, should always be men of learning and experience in the laws of exemplary morals, great patience, calmness and attention; their minds should not be distracted with jarring interests; they should

2. 4.

not be dependent upon any man or body of men. To these ends they should hold estates for life in their offices, or, in other words, their commissions should be during good behavior, and their salaries ascertained and established by law.

IT has long been my opinion, and I have never shrunk from its expression . . . that the germ of dissolution of our federal government is in the Constitution of our Federal Judiciary; an irresponsible body (for impeachment is scarcely a scare crow), working like gravity by night and by day, gaining a little to-day and a little to-
15. 331. morrow, and advancing its noiseless step like a thief, over the field of jurisdiction, until all shall be usurped from the States, and the government of all be consolidated into one. To this I am opposed; because, when all government, domestic and foreign, in little as in great things, shall be drawn to Washington as the centre of all power, it will render powerless the checks of one government on another, and will become as venal and oppressive as the government from which we separated. It will be as in Europe, where every man must be either pike or gudgeon, hammer or anvil. Our functionaries and theirs are wares from the same workshop; made of the same materials, and by the same hand. . . .

IF ever this vast country is brought under a single government, it will be one of the most extensive corruption, indifferent and incapable of a wholesome care over so wide a surface. This will not be borne, and you will have to choose between reformation and revolution. If I know the spirit of this country, the one or the other is in-
15. 389. evitable. Before the canker becomes too inveterate, before its venom has reached so much of the body politic as to get beyond control, remedy should be ap-

plied. Let the future appointment of Judges be for four or six years, and renewable by the President and Senate. This will bring their conduct at regular periods, under revision and probation, and may keep them in equipoise between the general and special governments. We have erred in this point by copying England, where certainly it is a good thing to have the judges independent of the king. But we have omitted to copy their caution also, which makes a judge removable on the address of both Legislative Houses. That there should be public functionaries independent of the nation . . . is a solecism in a republic of the first order of absurdity and inconsistency.

TAXES on consumption like those on capital or income, to be just, must be uniform. I do not mean to say that it may not be for the general interest to foster for awhile certain infant manufactures, until they are strong enough to stand against foreign rivals, but when evident that they will never be so, it is against right to make the other branches of industry support them.

15. 432.

Chapter XI.

Foreign Relations

IF there be one principle more deeply rooted than any other in the mind of every American, it is that we should have nothing to do with conquest. . . . An exchange of surplusses and wants between neighbor nations is not only a right but a duty, under the moral law, and measures against right should be mollified in their exercise, if it be wished to lengthen them to the greatest term possible. Circumstances sometimes require that rights the most unquestionable should be advanced with delicacy.

8. 219.

I WOULD rather be in dependence upon Great Britain, properly limited than on any nation on earth, or than on no nation. But, I am one of those, too, rather than submit to the rights of legislating for us, assumed by the British parliament, and which late experience has shown they will so cruelly exercise, would lend my hand to sink the whole island in the ocean. (Written in 1775.)

4. 28.

WE certainly cannot deny to other nations that principle whereon our government is founded, that every nation has a right to govern itself internally under what form it pleases, and to change these forms at will; and externally to transact business with other nations through whatever organ it chooses, whether that be king, convention, assembly, committee, President, or whatever it be. The only thing essential is, the will of the nation. Taking this as your polar star you can hardly err.

9. 7.

THE day is not distant when we may formally require a meridian of partition through the ocean which separates the two hemispheres, on the hither side of which no European gun shall ever be heard, nor an American on the other.
15. 263.

ESTABLISH the eternal truth that acquiescence under insult is not the way to escape war.
9. 308.

THAT the persons of our citizens shall be safe in freely traversing the ocean, that the transportation of our own produce, in our own vessels, to the markets of our choice, and the return to us of the articles we want for our own use, shall be unmolested, I hold to be fundamental, and the gauntlet that must be forever hurled at him who questions it.
14. 301.

FOR my part I wish that all nations may recover and retain their Independence; that those which are overgrown may not advance beyond safe measures of power, that a salutary balance may be ever maintained among nations, and that our peace, commerce, and friendship may be sought and cultivated by all. It is our business to manufacture for ourselves whatever we can, to keep our markets open for what we can spare or want; and the less we have to do with the enmities of Europe, the better. Not in our day, but at no distant one, we may shake a rod over the heads of all, which may make the stoutest tremble. But I hope our wisdom will grow with our power, and teach us that the less we use our power the greater it will be.
14. 308.

ALWAYS a friend to peace and believing it to promote eminently the happiness and prosperity of mankind, I am ever unwilling that it should be disturbed as long as the rights and interests of the nations can be preserved. But whensoever hostile aggressions on these require a resort to war, we must meet our duty and convince the world that we are just friends and brave enemies. (Written to Andrew Jackson.)

19. 156.

YOU have not been mistaken in supposing my views and feeling to be in favor of the abolition of war. Of my disposition to maintain peace until its condition shall be made less tolerable than that of war itself, the world has had proofs, and more perhaps than it has approved. I hope it is practicable, by improving the mind and morals of society, to lessen the disposition to war; but of its abolition I despair. Still, on the axiom that a less degree of evil is preferable to a greater, no means should be neglected which may add weight to the better scale.

18. 298.

I HAVE ever deemed it fundamental for the United States never to take active part in the quarrels of Europe. Their political interests are entirely distinct from ours. Their mutual jealousies, their balance of power, their complicated alliances, their forms and principles of government, are all foreign to us. They are nations of eternal war. All their energies are expended in the destruction of their labor, property, and lives of their people. On our part, never had a people so favorable a chance of trying the opposite system, of peace and fraternity with mankind, and the direction of all our means and faculties to the purposes of improvement instead of de-

15. 436.

struction. With Europe we have few occasions of collision, and these, with a little prudence and forbearance, may be generally accommodated.

OUR difficulties are indeed great . . . but when viewed in comparison to those of Europe, they are the joys of paradise. . . . Every government but one on the continent of Europe, demolished, a conqueror roaming over the face of the earth with havoc and destruction, a pirate spreading misery and ruin over the face of the ocean. Indeed, my friend, ours is a bed of roses. And the system of government which shall keep us afloat amidst the wreck of the world, will be immortalized in history. We have, to be sure, our petty squabbles and heart burnings, and we have something of the blue devils at times, as to these raw heads and bloody bones that are eating up other nations. But happily for us the Mammoth (Napoleon) cannot swim, nor the Leviathan (England) move on dry land; and if we will keep out of their way, they cannot get at us.

12. 372.

SHOULD foreign nations, however, deceived by this appearance of division and weakness, render it necessary to vindicate by arms the injuries to our country, I believe, with you, that the spirit of revolution is not extinguished, and that the cultivators of peace will again, as on that occasion, be transformed at once into a nation of warriors who will leave us nothing to fear for the natural and national rights of our country.

12. 317.

I WOULD . . . erect a column on the southernmost limit of Cuba, and inscribe on it a ne plus ultra as to us in that direction. We should then have only to include the North in our confederacy, which would be of course in

the first war, and we should have such an empire for liberty as she has never surveyed since the creation, and I am persuaded no constitution was ever before so well calculated as ours for extensive empire and self-government. . . . It will be objected to our receiving Cuba, that no limit can then be drawn to our future acquisitions. Cuba can be defended by us without a navy, and this develops the principle which ought to limit our views. Nothing should ever be accepted which would require a navy to defend it.

12. 277.

I HAVE but one system of ethics for men and for nations —to be grateful, to be faithful to all engagements under all circumstances, to be open and generous, promoting in the long run even the interests of both; and I am sure it promotes their happiness.

8. 17.

IT is impossible that the world should long continue insensible to so evident a truth as that the right to have commerce and intercourse with our neighbors is a natural right. To suppress this neighborly intercourse is an exercise of force, which we shall have a just right to remove, when the superior force.

8. 29.

NEVER was there a country (France) where the practice of governing too much had taken deeper root and done more mischief. To say in excuse that gratitude is never to enter into the motives of National conduct, is to revive a principle which has been buried for centuries with its kindred principles of the lawfulness of assassination, poison, perjury, etc. All of these were legitimate principles in the dark ages which intervened between ancient and modern civilization,

7. 445.

but exploded and held in just horror in the eighteenth century. I know but one code of morality for men, whether acting singly or collectively. He who says I will be a rogue when I act in company with a hundred others, but an honest man when I act alone, will be believed in the former assertion, but not in the latter.

THE politics of Europe render it indispensably necessary that, with respect to everything external, we be one nation only, firmly hooped together. Interior government is what each State should keep to itself. If it were seen in Europe that all our States could be brought to concur in what the Virginia Assembly has done, it would produce a total revolution in their opinion of us, and respect for us. And it should ever be held in mind, that insult and war are the result of want of respectability in the National character. As long as the States exercise, separately, those acts of power which respect foreign nations, so long will there continue to be irregularities committed by some one or other of them, which will constantly keep us on an ill footing with foreign nations. . . . I am persuaded that a gift of lands by the State of Virginia to the Marquis De La Fayette would give a good opinion here (Paris) of our character, and would reflect honor on the Marquis. Nor am I sure that the day will not come when it will be an useful asylum to him. The time of life at which he visited America was too well adapted to receive good and lasting impressions to permit him ever to accommodate himself to the principles of monarchical government; and it will need all his own prudence, and that of his friends, to make this country a safe residence for him. How glorious, how comfortable in reflection it will be to have prepared a refuge for him in case of reverse.

5. 278.

"WHETHER it would be useful to us to carry all our own productions or none?" Were we perfectly free to decide this question, I should reason as follows: We have now lands enough to employ an infinite number of people in their cultivation. Cultivators of the earth are the most valuable citizens. They are
5. 93. the most vigorous, the most independent, the most virtuous, and they are tied to their country, and wedded to its liberty and interests, by the most lasting bonds. As long, therefore, as they can find employment in this line, I would not convert them into mariners, artisans, or anything else. But our citizens will find employment in this line till their numbers, and of course their productions, become too great for the demand, both internal and foreign. This is not the case as yet, and probably will not be for a considerable time. As soon as it is, the surplus of hands must be turned to something else. I should then, perhaps, wish to turn them to the sea in preference to manufactures; because comparing the characters of the two classes, I find the former the most valuable citizens. I consider the class of artificers as the panders of vice, and the instruments by which the liberties of a country are generally overturned. However, we are not free to decide this question on principles of theory only. Our people are decided in the opinion that it is necessary for us to take a share in the occupation of the ocean, and their established habits induce them to require that the sea be kept open to them, and that that line of policy be pursued, which will render the use of that element to them as great as possible. I think it a duty in those entrusted with the administration of their affairs to conform themselves to the decided choice of their constituents; and that, therefore, we should in every instance preserve an equality of right to them in the transportation of commodities, in the right of fishing, and in the other uses of the

sea. But what will be the consequence? Frequent wars without a doubt. Their property will be violated on the sea, and in foreign parts, their persons will be insulted, imprisoned, etc., for pretended debts, contracts, crimes, contraband, etc., etc. These insults must be resented, even if we had no feelings, yet to prevent their eternal repetition; or, in other words, our commerce on the ocean and in other countries, must be paid for by frequent war. The justest dispositions possible in ourselves will not secure us against it. It would be necessary that all other nations be just also. Justice, indeed, on our part, will save us from those wars which would have been produced by a contrary disposition. But how can we prevent those caused by the wrongs of other nations? By putting ourselves in a position to punish them. Weakness provokes insult and injury, while a condition to punish often prevents them. This reasoning leads to the necessity of a naval force: that being the only weapon by which we can reach an enemy.

Chapter XII.

The Tariff

I REJOICE, as a moralist, at the prospect of a reduction of the duties on wine by our national legislature. It is an error to view a tax on that liquor as merely a tax on the rich. It is a prohibition of its use to the middling class of our citizens, and a condemnation of them to the poisons of whiskey, which is desolating their houses. 15. 179. No nation is drunken where wine is cheap; and none sober where the dearness of wine substitutes ardent spirits as the common beverage. It is in truth, the only antidote to the bane of whiskey.

MY idea is that we should encourage home manufactures to the extent of our own consumption of everything of which we raise the raw material. 12. 236.

I HAVE lately inculcated the encouragement of manufactures to the extent of our own consumption at least in all articles of which we raise the raw material. The Federals say the iron which we make must not be wrought into ploughs, axes, hoes, etc., in order that the ship owners may have the profit of carrying it to Europe, and 12. 237. bringing it back in a manufactured form. . . . yet this absurd hue and cry has done much to federalize New England, their doctrine goes to the sacrificing agriculture and manufacture to commerce; to the calling of our people from the interior country to the seashore to turn merchants, and to convert this great agricultural country into a city of Amsterdam. But I trust the good sense of this

country will see that its greatest prosperity depends on a due balance between agriculture, manufactures and commerce, and not in this protuberant navigation which has kept us in hot water from the commencement of our government, and is now engaging us in war. That this may be avoided without the surrender of right is my sincere prayer.

YOU tell me I am quoted by those who wish to continue our dependence on England for manufactures. There was a time when I might have been so quoted with more candor, but within the thirty years which have since elapsed how circumstances have changed! We were then in peace. Our independent place among nations was acknowledged. A commerce which offered the raw material in exchange for the same material after receiving the last touch of industry, was worthy of welcome to all nations. It was expected that those especially to whom manufacturing industry was important would cherish the friendship of their customers by every favor, by every inducement, and particularly cultivate their peace by every act of justice and friendship. Under this prospect the question seemed legitimate, whether with such an immensity of land unimproved, courting the hand of husbandry, the industry of agriculture or manufactures would add most to the national wealth? And the doubt was entertained on this consideration chiefly, that to the labor of the husbandman a vast addition is made by the spontaneous energies of the earth on which it is employed: for one grain of wheat committed to the earth she renders twenty, thirty, and even fifty fold, whereas to the labor of the manufacturer nothing is added. Pounds of flax, in his hands, yield, on the contrary, but pennyweights of lace. This exchange, too, laborious as it may seem, what a field did it promise for the occupations of the ocean; what a nursery for the class of

14. 389.

citizens who were to exercise and maintain our equal rights on that element! . . . but who in 1785 could foresee the rapid depravity which was to render the close of that century the disgrace of the history of man . . . we were completely excluded from the ocean . . . we have experienced . . . that to be independent for the comforts of life we must fabricate them ourselves. We must now place the manufacturer by the side of the argriculturist. . . . the former question assumes a new form: shall we make our own comforts or go without them, at the will of a foreign nation? . . . Experience has taught me that manufactures are now as necessary to our independence as our comfort; and if those who quote me as of a different opinion, will keep pace with me in purchasing nothing foreign, where an equivalent of domestic fabric can be obtained, without regard to difference of price, it will not be our fault if we do not soon have a supply at home equal to our demand.

SHALL we suppress the impost and give that advantage to foreign over domestic manufactures? On a few articles of more general and necessary use the suppression in due season will doubtless be right, but the great mass of the articles on which impost is paid is foreign luxuries, purchased by those only who are rich enough to afford themselves the use of them. Their patriotism would certainly prefer its continuance and application to the great purposes of the public education, roads, rivers, canals, and such other objects of public improvement, as it may be thought proper to add to the constitutional enumeration of federal powers. By these operations new channels of communication will be opened between the States; the lines of separation will disappear, their interests will be identified, and their Union cemented

3. 423.

by indissoluble ties. . . . I suppose an amendment to the Constitution necessary, by consent of the States, because the objects now recommended are not among those enumerated in the Constitution, and to which it permits the public moneys to be applied.

AGRICULTURE, manufactures, commerce, and navigation, the four pillars of our prosperity, are the most thriving when left most free to individual enterprise. Protection from casual embarrassments, however, may sometimes be interposed.

3. 337.

THE revenue on the consumption of foreign articles is paid cheerfully by those who can afford to add foreign luxuries to domestic comforts, being collected on our seaboards and frontiers only, and incorporated with the transactions of our merchants, it may be the pleasure and pride of an American to ask, what farmer,

3. 377. what mechanic, what laborer ever sees a tax gatherer of the United States? These contributions enable us to support the current expenses of the government, to fulfill contracts with foreign nations, to extinguish the native right to the soil within our own limits, to extend those limits, and to apply such a surplus to our public debts, as places at a short day their final redemption, and that redemption once effected, the revenue thereby liberated may, by a just repartition among the States and a corresponding amendment of the Constitution, be applied in time of peace to rivers, canals, roads, arts, manufactures, education, and other great objects within each State.

THE following principles, being founded in reciprocity, appear perfectly just, and to offer no cause of complaint to any nation:

1. Where a nation imposes high duties on our productions, or prohibits them altogether, it may be proper for us to do the same by theirs; first burdening or ex-

3. 278. cluding those productions which they bring here, in competition with our own of the same kind, selecting next such manufactures as we take from them in greatest quantity, and which, at the same time, we could the soonest furnish to ourselves, or obtain from other countries; imposing on them duties lighter at first, but heavier and heavier afterwards as other channels of supply open. Such duties having the effect of indirect encouragement to domestic manufactures of the same kind, may induce the manufacturer to come himself into these states, where cheaper subsistence, equal laws, and a vent of his wares, free of duty, may insure him the highest profits from his skill and industry.

HAVE you considered all the consequences of your proposition respecting post roads? I view it as a source of boundless patronage to the executive, jobbing to members of congress and their friends, and a bottomless abyss of public money. You will begin by only appropriating the surplus of the post office reve-

9. 324. nues; but the other revenues will soon be called to their aid, and it will be a source of eternal scramble among the members, who can get the most money wasted in their State; and they will always get most who are meanest. We have thought, hitherto, that the roads of a State could not so well be administered even by our State legislature as by the magistracy of the county, on the spot. How will they be when a member from New Hampshire is

to mark out a road for Georgia? Does the power to establish post roads, given you by the Constitution, mean that you should MAKE the roads, or only select from those already made those on which there shall be a post? If the term be equivocal (and I really do not think so), which is the safest construction? that which permits a majority of Congress to go to cutting down mountains and bridging rivers, or the other, which if too restricted may be referred to the States for amendment, securing due measures and proportion among us, and providing some means of information to the members of Congress tantamount to that ocular inspection, which, even in our county determinations, the magistrate finds cannot be supplied by other evidence? The fortification of harbors was liable to some objection, but national circumstances furnished color. In this case there is none.

Chapter XIII.

Theories of Government

THE property of this country (France) is absolutely concentrated in a few hands, having revenues of from half a million guineas a year downward. These employ the flower of the country as servants, some of them having as many as 200 domestics, not laboring. They employ also a great number of manufacturers and tradesmen, and lastly the class of laboring husbandman. But after all there comes the most numerous of all classes, that is the poor who cannot find work. I asked myself what could be the reason so many should be permitted to beg who are willing to work in a country where there is a very considerable proportion of uncultivated lands? These lands are disturbed only for the sake of game. It would seem then that it must be because of the tremendous wealth of the proprietors which puts them above attention to the increase of their revenues by permitting these lands to be labored. I am conscious that an equal division of property is impracticable, but the consequences of this enormous inequality producing so much misery to the bulk of mankind, legislators cannot invent too many devices for subdividing property, only taking care to let their subdivisions go hand in hand with the affections of the human mind. The descent of property of every kind therefore to all the children, or to all the brothers and sisters, or other relations in equal degree, is a politic measure and a practicable one. Another means of silently lessening the inequality of property is to exempt all from taxation below a certain point, and to tax the higher portions of property in geometrical progression as they rise. Whenever there are in any country uncultivated lands and unemployed poor it is clear that the

19. 17.

laws of property have been so far extended as to violate natural right. The earth is given as a common stock for man to labor and live on. If for the encouragement of industry we allow it to be appropriated, we must take care that other employment be provided to those excluded from the appropriation. If we do not, the fundamental right to labor the earth returns to the unemployed. It is too soon yet in our country to say that every man who cannot find employment, but who can find uncultivated land, shall be at liberty to cultivate it, paying a moderate rent. But it is not too soon to provide by every possible means that as few as possible shall be without a little portion of land. The small landholders are the most precious part of the State.

THE aboriginal inhabitants of these countries I have regarded with the commiseration their history inspires. Endowed with the faculties and the rights of men, breathing an ardent love of liberty and independence, and occupying a country, which left them no desire but to be undisturbed, the stream of overflowing
3. 378. population from other regions directed itself on these shores; without power to divert, or habits to contend against, they have been overwhelmed with the current, or driven before it; now reduced within limits too narrow for the hunter's state, humanity enjoins us to teach them agriculture and the domestic arts; to encourage them to that industry which alone can enable them to maintain their place in existence, and to prepare them in time for that state of society which to bodily comforts adds the improvement of the mind and the morals.

ARE there no inconveniences to be thrown into the scale against the advantage expected from a multiplication of numbers by the importation of foreigners? It is for the happiness of those united in society to

harmonize as much as possible in matters which they must of necessity transact together. Civil government
2. 120. being the sole object of forming societies, its administration must be conducted by common consent. Every species of government has its specific principles. Ours are perhaps more peculiar than any other in the universe. It is a composition of the freest principles of the English Constitution, with others derived from natural right and reason. To these nothing can be more opposed than the maxims of absolute monarchies. Yet from such we are to expect the greatest number of emigrants. They will bring with them the principles of the governments they leave, imbibed in their early youth; or, if able to throw them off, it will be in exchange for unbounded licentiousness, passing as is usual from one extreme to another. It would be a miracle if they were to stop precisely at the point of temperate liberty. These principles with their language they will transmit to their children. In proportion to their numbers they will share with us the legislation. They will infuse into it their spirit, warp and bias its directions. . . . Is it not safer to wait with patience 27 years 3 months longer for the attainment of any degree of population desired or expected? May not our government be more homogeneous, more peaceable, more durable?

IT is said that they possess the means of defence, and that we do not. How so, are we not men? Yes, but our men are so happy at home that they will not hire themselves to be shot at for a shilling a day. Hence we can have no standing armies for defence, because we have no paupers to furnish the materials. The Greeks and
14. 184. Romans had no standing armies, yet they defended themselves. The Greeks by their laws, and the Romans by the spirit of their people, took care to put

into the hands of their rulers no such engine of oppression as a standing army. Their system was to make every man a soldier, and oblige him to repair to the standard of his country whenever that was reared. This made them invincible; and the same remedy will make us so.

EVERY society has a right to fix the fundamental principles of its association, and to say to all individuals that if they contemplate pursuits beyond the limits of those principles, and involving dangers which the society chooses to avoid, they must go somewhere else for their exercise; that we want no psuedo citizens on such terms. We may exclude them from our territory as we do persons afflicted with disease. Such is the situation of our country. We have most abundant resources of happiness within ourselves, which we may enjoy in peace and safety, without permitting a few citizens, infected with the mania for rambling and gambling, to bring danger on the great mass engaged in innocent and safe pursuits at home. . . . We are to choose (between): 1. Licentious commerce and gambling speculations for a few, with eternal war for the many; or, 2, restricted commerce, peace and steady occupations for all. . . . No earthly consideration could induce my consent to contract such a debt as England has by her wars for Commerce, to reduce our citizens by taxes to such wretchedness. . . . And all this to feed the avidity of a few milionary merchants, and to keep up one thousand ships of war for the protection of our commercial speculations. . . .

15. 28.

THAT our Creator made the earth for the use of the living and not of the dead; that those who exist not can have no power over, use, nor right in it, that one generation cannot foreclose or burden its use upon another,

which comes to its own right and by the same beneficence.

15. 470. That a preceding generation cannot bind a succeeding one by its laws or contracts; these deriving their obligation from the will of the existing majority, and that majority being removed by death, another comes in its place with a will equally free to make its own laws and contracts; these are axioms so self-evident that no explanation can make them plainer; for he is not to be reasoned with who says that non-existence can control existence, or that nothing can move something. They are axioms also pregnant with salutary consequences. . . . The laws of civil society indeed for the encouragement of industry, give the property of the parent to his family on his death, and in most civilized countries permit him even to give it, by testament, to whom he pleases. And it is also found more convenient to suffer the laws of our predecessors to stand on our implied assent, as if positively re-enacted, until the existing majority positively repeals them. But this does not lessen the right of that majority to repeal whenever a change of circumstances or of will calls for it. Habit alone confounds what is civil practice with natural right.

16. 14. THE three great questions of amendment now before you. I mean, 1st, the limitation of the term of Presidential service; 2nd, the placing of the choice of the President effectually in the hands of the people; 3rd, the giving to Congress the power of internal improvement, on condition that each State's federal proportion of the moneys so expended shall be employed within that State. The friends of Consolidation would rather take these powers by construction than accept them by direct investiture from the States. Yet as to internal improvement particularly, there is probably not a State

in the Union which would not grant the power on the condition named, or which would grant it without that. . . . The real friends of the Constitution in its federal form, if they wish it to be immortal, should be attentive, by amendments, to make it keep pace with the advance of the age, in science and experience. Instead of this the European governments have resisted reformation, until the people seeing no other resource, undertake it themselves, by force, their only weapon, and work it out through blood, desolation and long continued anarchy. Here it will be by large fragments dropping off and refusing reunion, but on condition of amendment, or perhaps permanently. If I can see these three great amendments prevail, I shall consider it as a renewed extension of our lease, shall live in more confidence and die in more hope.

HE who receives an idea from me, receives instruction himself without lessening mine; as he who lights his taper at mine receives light without darkening me. That ideas should freely spread from one to another over the globe, for the moral and mutual instruction of man, and improvement of his condition, seems to have been peculiarly and benevolently designed by nature, when she made them, like fire, expansible over space, without lessening their density in any point, and like the air in which we breathe, move and have our physical being, incapable of confinement or exclusive appropriation. Inventions then cannot in nature be a subject of property. Society may give an exclusive right to the profits arising from them, as an encouragement to men to pursue ideas which may produce utility, but this may or may not be done, according to the will and convenience of society, without claim or complaint from anybody. . . . Other nations have thought that these monopolies produce more embar-

13. 334.

rassment than advantage to society; and it may be observed that the nations which refuse monopolies of invention are as fruitful as England in new and useful devices.

IT is a wise rule, and should be fundamental in a government disposed to cherish its credit, and at the same time to restrain the use of it within the limits of its faculties. Never to borrow a dollar without laying a tax in the same instant for paying the interest annually, and the principal within a given term and to consider the tax as
13. 269. pledged to the creditors on the public faith. . . .
But the term of redemption must be moderate, and at any rate within the limit of their rightful powers. But what limits it will be asked does this prescribe to their powers? What is to hinder them from creating a perpetual debt? The laws of nature I answer. The earth belongs to the living not the dead. The will and the power of a man expire with his life, by nature's law. . . . We may consider each generation as a distinct nation, with a right by the will of its majority to bind themselves, but none to bind the succeeding generation, more than the inhabitants of another country . . . the period of a generation, or the term of its life, is determined by the laws of mortality, which, varying a little in different climates, offer a general average to be found by observation. I turn for instance to Buffon's table, of twenty-three thousand nine hundred and ninety-four deaths and the ages at which they happened, and I find that of the number of all ages living at one moment, half will be dead in twenty-four years and eight months. But leaving out minors, who have not the power of self-government, of the adults living at one moment, a majority of whom act for the society, one-half will be dead in 18 years and 8 months. At nineteen years from the date of a contract the majority of the contractors are dead, and their con-

tract with them. . . . Suppose the majority (of the State of New York) on the first day of the year 1794 had borrowed a sum of money equal to the fee simple value of the State, and to have consumed it in eating, drinking, and making merry in their day; or if you please in quarreling and fighting with their unoffending neighbors. Within 18½ years one-half the adult citizens were dead. Till then being the majority, they might rightfully levy the interest of their debt on themselves and their fellow revellers or champions. But at that moment a new majority . . . have come into place, in their own right, and not under the rights, the conditions, or laws of their predecessors. . . . Are they bound to acknowledge the debt? . . . every one will say no . . . that the soil is the gift of God to the living, as much as it had been to the deceased generation, and the laws of nature impose no obligation upon them to pay the debt.

And although like some other natural rights, this has not yet entered into any declaration of rights, it is no less a law, and ought to be acted on by honest governments. It is at the same time a salutary curb on the spirit of war and indebtment, which since the modern theory of the perpetuation of debt has drenched the earth with blood and crushed its inhabitants under burdens ever accumulating. . . . . In seeking then for an ultimate term for the redemption of our debts, let us rally to this principle, and provide for their payment within the term of nineteen years at the farthest. . . . The states should be applied to, to transfer the right of issuing circulating paper to Congress exclusively . . . if possible . . . I believe that every State . . . would do it . . . in time . . . private fortunes, in the present state of our circulation are at the mercy of those self-created money lenders, and are prostrated by the floods of nominal money with which their avarice deluges us.

I CONSIDER the fortunes of our republic as depending, in an eminent degree, on the extinguishment of the public debt, before we engage in any war; because that done, we shall have revenue enough to improve our country in peace and defend it in war, without recurring to new taxes or loans. But if the debt should once more be swelled to a formidable size, its entire discharge will be despaired of, and we shall be committed to the English career of debt, corruption and rottenness, closing with revolution. The discharge of the debt, therefore, is vital to the destinies of our government.

12. 324.

THE nation will judge both the offender and judges for themselves. If a member of the legislature or the executive does wrong, the day is never far distant when the people will remove him. They will see then and amend the error in their constitution, which makes any branch (of the government) independent of the nation. They will see that one of the great coordinate branches of government, setting itself in opposition to the other two, and to the common sense of the nation, proclaims immunity to that class of offenders which endeavors to overturn the Constitution, and are themselves protected in it by the Constitution itself; for impeachment is a farce which will not be tried again.

11. 190.

CERTAINLY an inventor ought to be allowed a right to the benefit of his invention for some certain term. It is equally certain it ought not to be perpetual; for to embarrass society with monopolies for every utensil existing, and in all the details of life, would be more injurious to them than had the supposed inventors never existed; because the natural understanding of its members would naturally have suggested the same things or others just as good.

11. 200.

THE question, whether one generation of men has a right to bind another, seems never to have been started either on this or our side of the water. Yet it is a question of such consequences as not only to merit decision, but place among the fundamental principles of government. . . . that no such obligation can be transmitted, I think very capable of proof; I start out on this ground which I suppose to be self-evident, that the earth belongs in usufruct to the living; that the dead have neither powers nor rights over it. The portion occupied by an individual ceases to be his when himself ceases to be, and reverts to the society, the child, the legatee or creditor, takes it, not by natural right, but by a law of the society of which he is a member. . . . What is true of every member of society is true of them all collectively; since the rights of the whole can be no more than the sum of the rights of the individuals . . . the conclusion then, is that neither the representatives of the nation, nor the whole nation itself assembled, can validly engage debts beyond what they may pay in their own time, that is to say within thirty-four years of the date of the engagement. . . . On a similar ground it may be proved that no society can make a perpetual constitution, or even a perpetual law. The earth belongs always to the living generation: they may manage it then, and what proceeds from it as they please during their usufruct.

7. 454.

They are masters, too, of their own persons, and consequently they may govern them as they please. But persons and property make the sum of the objects of government. The Constitution and the laws of their predecessors are extinguished then, in their natural course, with those who gave them being. This could preserve this being till it ceased to be itself and no longer. Every Constitution then, and every law, naturally expires at the end of thirty-four years.

If it be enforced longer it is an act of force and not of right. It may be said that the succeeding generation exercising, in fact, the power of repeal, this leaves them as free as if the constitution or law had been expressly limited to thirty-four years only. In the first place this objection admits the right in proposing an equivalent. It might be, indeed, if every form of government were so perfectly contrived that the will of the majority could always be obtained fairly, and without impediment. But this is true of no form. The people cannot assemble themselves; their representation is unequal and vicious. Various checks are opposed to every legislative proposition. Factions get possession of the public councils, bribery corrupts them, personal interests lead them astray from the general interests of their constituents; and other impediments arise, so as to prove to every practical man that a law of limited duration is much more manageable than one which needs repeal.

THE error seems not sufficiently eradicated that the operations of the mind, as well as the acts of the body, are subject to the coercion of the laws. But our rulers can have no authority over such natural rights, only as we have submitted to them. The rights of conscience we never submitted, we could not submit. We are
I. 221. answerable for them to our God. The legitimate powers of government extend to such acts only as are injurious to others. But it does me no injury for my neighbor to say there are twenty gods, or no God. It neither picks my pocket nor breaks my leg. If it be said his testimony in a court of justice cannot be relied on, reject it then, and be the stigma on him. Constraint may make him worse, by making him a hypocrite, but it will never make a truer man. It may fix him obstinately in his errors, but will not cure them.

Reason and free inquiry are the only effectual agents against error. They are the natural enemies of error, and of error only. Had not the Roman government permitted free inquiry, Christianity could never have been introduced. Had not free inquiry been indulged at the era of the Reformation, the corruptions of Christianity could not have been purged away. . . . Reason and experiment have been indulged and error has fled before them. It is error alone that needs the support of government. Truth can stand by itself.

Chapter XIV.

Dangers to the Republic

ONE hundred and seventy despots would surely be as oppressive as one. Let those who doubt it turn their eyes upon the Republic of Venice. As little will it avail us that they are chosen by ourselves. An Elective Despotism was not the government we fought for, but one which should not only be founded on free principles, but one in which the powers of government should be so divided and balanced among several bodies of magistracy as that no one could transcend their legal limits without being effectually checked and restrained by the others. . . . The legislature have accordingly in many instances decided rights which should have been left to judiciary controversy; and the direction of the Executive . . . is becoming habitual and familiar. And this is done with no ill intention. The views of the present members are perfectly upright. When they are led out of their regular province, it is through art in others and inadvertence by themselves. And this will probably be the case for some time to come. But it will not be a very long time, mankind soon learn to make interested uses of every right and power which they possess or may assume. . . . With money we will get men, said Cæsar, and with men we will get money. Nor should our assembly be deluded by the integrity of their purposes, and conclude that these unlimited powers will never be abused, because themselves are not disposed to abuse them. They should look forward to the time, and that not a distant one, when a corruption in this, as in the country from which we derive our origin, will have seized the heads of the government, and be spread by them through the body of the people; when they will purchase the votes of the people

2. 163.

and make them pay the price. Human nature is the same on every side of the Atlantic, and will alike be influenced by the same causes. The time to guard against corruption and tyranny, is before they shall have gotten hold of us. It is better to keep the wolf out of the fold than to trust to drawing his teeth and claws after he shall have entered.

IT can never be too often repeated that the time for fixing every essential right on a legal basis is while our rulers are honest and ourselves united. From the conclusion of this war we shall be going down hill. It will not then be necessary to resort every moment to the people for support. They will be forgotten therefore, and their rights disregarded. They will forget themselves, but in the sole faculty of making money, and will never think of uniting to effect a due respect for their rights. The shackles, therefore, which shall not be knocked off at the conclusion of this war, will remain on us long, will be made heavier and heavier, till our rights shall revive or expire in a convulsion.

2. 225.

THIS is a sample of the effects we may expect from the late mischievous law vacating every four years nearly all the executive offices of the government. . . . It saps the Constitutional and salutary functions of the President, and introduces a principle of intrigue and corruption, which will soon leaven the mass, not only of senators but of citizens. It is more baneful than the attempt which failed in the beginning of the government, to make all officers irremovable but with the consent of the Senate. . . . It will keep in constant excitement all the hungry cormorants for office, render them, as well as those in place, sycophants to their Senators, engage

15. 294.

these in eternal intrigue to turn out one and put in another, in cabals to swap work; and make of them what all Executive directories become, mere sinks of corruption and faction.

EVERYTHING predicted by the enemies of banks, in the beginning, is now coming to pass. We are to be ruined now by a deluge of bank paper, as we were formerly by the old Continental paper. It is cruel that such revolutions in private fortunes should be at the mercy of avaricious adventurers, who instead of employing
14. 16. their capital, if any they have, in manufactures, commerce, and other useful pursuits, make it an instrument to burden all the interchanges of property with their swindling profits, profits which are the price of no useful industry of theirs. Prudent men must be on their guard in this game of Robin's alive, and take care that the spark does not extinguish in their hands. I am an enemy to all banks discounting bills or notes for anything but coin. But our whole country is so fascinated by this Jack o' lantern wealth, that they will not stop short of its total and fatal explosion. (This took place four years later.)

THE scheme is for Congress to incorporate a bank . . . the subscribers may be one, two, or three or more individuals . . . (many single individuals being able to pay in the five millions), whereupon this bank oligarchy or monarchy enters the field with ninety millions of dollars, to direct and control the politics of the
13. 405. nation; and of the influence of these institutions on our politics, and into what scale it will be thrown we have had abundant experience. Indeed England herself may be the real subscriber. . . . The truth is that capital may be produced by industry, and accumulated

by economy; but jugglers only will propose to create it by legerdemain tricks with paper. . . .

. . . The overbearing clamor of merchants, speculators and projectors, will drive us before them with our eyes open, until, as in France, under the Mississippi Bubble, our citizens will be overtaken with the crush of this baseless fabric, without other satisfaction than that of execrations on the heads of those functionaries who, from ignorance, pusillanimity or corruption, have betrayed the fruits of their industry into the hands of projectors and swindlers. . . . We are already at ten or twenty times the due quantity of medium; insomuch that no man knows what his property is now worth, because it is bloating while he is calculating; and still less what it will be worth when the medium shall be relieved from its present dropsical state; and that it is a palpable falsehood to say that we can have specie for our paper whenever demanded. . . . To the existence of banks of discount for cash, as on the continent of Europe, there can be no objection, because there can be no danger of abuse, and they are a convenience both to merchants and individuals.

Chapter XV.

Republican Principles.

I DO not think it for the interest of the General Government itself, and still less of the Union at large, that the State Governments should be so little respected as they have been. However, I dare say that in time all these as well as their central government, like the planets revolving around their common sun, acting and acted upon according to their respective weights and distances, will produce that beautiful equilibrium on which our constitution is founded, and which I believe, it will exhibit to the world in a degree of perfection, unexampled but in the planetary system itself.

10. 1.

WHAT more is necessary to make us a happy and prosperous people? Still one thing more, fellow citizens—a wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, which shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government, and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities.

3. 320.

. . . About to enter, fellow citizens, on the exercise of duties which comprehend everything dear and valuable to you, it is proper that you should understand what I deem the essential principles of our government, and consequently those which ought to shape its administration . . . equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship, with all nations, entangling alliances with none; the support of the State governments in all their rights, as

the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies; the preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad; a jealous care of the right of election by the people—a mild and safe corrective of abuses which are lopped by the sword of revolution where peaceable remedies are unprovided; absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority—the vital principle of republics, from which there is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism; a well disciplined militia—our best reliance in peace and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them; the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burdened; the honest payment of our debts and sacred preservation of the public faith; encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce, its handmaid; the diffusion of information and the arraignment of all abuses at the bar of public reason; freedom of religion; freedom of the press; freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus and trial by juries impartially selected—these principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us, and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages and the blood of our heroes have been devoted to their attainment. They should be the creed of our political faith, the text of civil instruction—the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust; and should we wander from them in moments of alarm or error, let us hasten to retrace our steps and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety.

IF the overgrown wealth of an individual be deemed dangerous to the State, the best corrective is the law of equal inheritance to all in equal degree; and the better as this enforces a law of nature.
14. 466.

YOU love them (the people) as infants whom you are afraid to trust without nurses; and I as adults whom I freely leave to self-government. . . . I believe with you that morality, compassion, generosity are innate elements of the human constitution; . . . that justice is the fundamental law of society; that the
14. 489. majority, oppressing an individual, is guilty of a crime, abuses its strength, and by acting on the law of the strongest, breaks up the foundations of society; that action by the citizens in person, in affairs within their reach and competence, and in all others by representatives, chosen immediately, and removable by themselves, constitutes the essence of a republic . . . and that a government by representation is capable of extension over a greater surface of country than one of any other form.

THE fact is that at the formation of our government many had formed their opinions on European writings and practices, believing the experiences of old countries, and especially of England, abusive as it was, to be a safer guide than mere theory. The doctrines of Europe were that men in numerous associations cannot be
15. 440. restrained within the limits of order and justice, but by forces, physical and moral, wielded over them by authorities independent of their will. Hence their organization of kings, hereditary nobles and priests. Still further to constrain the brute force of the people, they deem it necessary to keep them down by hard labor, poverty and

ignorance, and to take from them, as from bees, so much of their earnings, as that unremitting labor shall be necessary to obtain a sufficient surplus barely to sustain a scanty and miserable life. And these earnings they apply to maintain their privileged orders in splendor and idleness, to fascinate the eyes of the people, and excite in them an humble adoration and submission, as to an order of superior beings. Although few among us had gone all these lengths of opinion, yet many had advanced, some more, some less, on the way. And in the convention which formed our government, they intended to draw the cords of power as tight as they could obtain them, to lessen the dependence of the general functionaries on their constituents, to subject to them those of the States, and to weaken their means of maintaining the steady equilibrium which the majority of the convention had deemed salutary for both branches, general and local. To recover, therefore, in practice the powers which the nation had refused, and to warp to their own uses those actually given, was the steady object of the Federal party. Ours, on the contrary, was to maintain the will of the majority of the convention and of the people themselves. We believed, with them, that man is a rational animal, endowed by nature with rights, and with an innate sense of justice; and that he could be restrained from wrong, and protected in right, by moderate powers, confided to persons of their own choice, and held to their duties by dependence upon their own will. We believed that the complicated organization of kings, nobles and priests was not the wisest nor best to effect the happiness of associated man; that wisdom and virtue were not hereditary; that the trappings of such a machinery, consumed by their expense, those earnings of industry, they were meant to protect, and by the inequalities they produced, exposed liberty to sufferance. We believed that men enjoying in ease and security the full fruits of their own industry, enlisted by all

their interests on the side of law and order, habituated to think for themselves, and to follow their reason as a guide, would be more easily and safely governed than with minds nourished in error and vitiated and debased, as in Europe, by ignorance, indigence and oppression. The cherishment of the people then was our principle, the fear and distrust of them that of the other party. Composed as we were of the landed and laboring classes of the country, we could not be less anxious for a government of law and order than were the inhabitants of the cities, the strongholds of federalism. . . . I have stated above that the original objects of the Federalists were, 1st, to warp our government more to the form and principles of monarchy, and, 2d, to weaken the barriers of the State governments as co-ordinate powers. In the first they have been so completely foiled by the universal spirit of the nation that they have abandoned the enterprise, shrunk from the odium of their old appellation, taken to themselves a participation of ours, and under the pseudo republican mask, are now aiming at their second object, and, strengthened by unsuspecting recruits from our ranks, are fast approaching an ascendency. . . . Laws are made for men of ordinary understandings, and should therefore be construed by the ordinary rules of common sense. Their meaning is not to be sought for in subtleties, which may make anything mean everything or nothing, at pleasure. . . . I ask for no straining of words against the general government, nor against the States. I believe the States can best govern our home concerns, and the general government our foreign ones. . . . You and I may differ in details of minor consequence, as no two minds, more than two faces, are the same in every feature. But our general objects are the same, to preserve the Republican form and principles of our Constitution. . . .

NO, my friend, the way to have good and safe government is not to trust it all to one, but to divide it among the many, distributing to every one exactly the functions he is competent to. Let the national government be entrusted with the defence of the Nation, and its foreign and federal relations; the state governments with the civil rights, laws, police, and administration of what concerns the State generally; the counties with the local concerns of the counties, and each ward direct the interests within itself. It is by dividing and subdividing these republics from the great National one down through all its subordinations, until it ends in the administration of every man's farm for himself; by placing under every one what his own eye may superintend, that all will be done for the best. What has destroyed liberty and the rights of man in every government which has ever existed under the sun? The generalizing and concentrating all cares into one body, no matter whether the autocrats of Russia or France, or of the aristocrats of a Venetian senate. And I do believe that if the Almighty has not decreed that man shall never be free (and it is a blasphemy to believe it) that the secret will be found to be in the making himself the depository of the powers respecting himself, so far as he is competent to them, and delegating only what is necessary . . . to higher and higher orders of functionaries, so as to trust fewer and fewer powers in proportion as the trustees become more and more oligarchical. . . . Where every man is a sharer in the direction of his ward republic, or of some of the higher ones, and feels that he is a participant in the government of affairs, not merely at an election one day in the year, but every day; when there shall not be a man in the State who will not be a member of some one of its councils, great or small, he will let the heart be torn out of his body sooner than let his power be wrested from him by a Cæsar or a Bonaparte.

14. 421.

Chapter XVI.

The Press

NO government ought to be without censors; and where the press is free, no one ever will. If virtuous it need not fear the fair operation of attack and defence. Nature has given to man no other means of sifting out the truth, either in religion, law or politics. I think it is as honorable to the government neither to know nor notice its sycophants or censors, as it would be undignified and criminal to pamper the former and persecute the latter. . . .

8. 406.

I HAVE preserved through life a resolution, set in a very early part of it, never to write in a public paper without subscribing my name, and to engage openly an adversary who does not let himself be seen, is staking all against nothing.

8. 411.

HISTORY, in general, only informs us what bad government is. To your request of my opinion of the manner a newspaper should be conducted so as to be most useful, I should answer, "by restraining it to true facts and sound principles only." Yet I fear, such a paper would find few subscribers. . . . It is a melancholy truth that a suppression of the press could not more completely deprive the nation of its benefits than is done by its abandoned prostitution to falsehood. Nothing can now be believed which is seen in a newspaper. Truth itself becomes suspicious by being put into that polluted vehicle. The real extent of this misinformation is known only to those who are in situations to confront facts

11. 223.

within their knowledge with the lies of the day. I really look with commiseration over the great body of my fellow citizens, who, reading newspapers, live and die in the belief that they have known something of what has been passing on in the world in their time; whereas the accounts they have read in newspapers are just as true a history of any other period of the world as of the present, except that the real names of the day are affixed to their fables. General facts may indeed be collected from them, such as that Europe is now at war, that Bonaparte has been a successful warrior, that he has subjected a great portion of Europe to his will, etc., etc., but no details can be relied upon. I will add that the man who never looks into a newspaper is better informed than he who reads them; inasmuch as he who knows nothing is nearer the truth than he whose mind is filled with falsehoods and errors. He who reads nothing will still learn the great facts, and the details are all false. . . . Perhaps an editor might begin a reformation in some such way as this: Divide his paper into four chapters, heading the first, Truths; 2d, Probabilities; 3d, Possibilities; 4, Lies. The first chapter would be very short, as it would contain little more than authentic papers and information from such sources as the editor would be willing to risk his reputation for their truth. The second would contain what from a mature consideration of all circumstances his judgment should conclude to be probably true. This, however, should rather contain too little than too much. The third and fourth should be professedly for those readers who would rather have lies for their money than the blank paper they would occupy. Such an editor would have to set his face against the demoralizing practice of feeding the public mind habitually with slander, and the depravity of taste which this nauseous ailment induces. Defamation is becoming a necessity of life; insomuch that a dish of tea in

the morning or evening cannot be digested without this stimulant.

THE only security for all is in a free press. The force of public opinion cannot be resisted, when permitted freely to be expressed. The agitation it produces must be submitted to. It is necessary to keep the waters pure.

15. 491.

DURING this administration, and in order to disturb it, the artillery of the press has been levelled against us, charged with whatsoever its licentiousness could devise or dare. These abuses of an institution so important to freedom and science are deeply to be regretted, inasmuch as they tend to lessen its usefulness, and to sap its safety; . . . nor was it uninteresting to the world that an experiment should be fairly and fully made, whether freedom of discussion, unaided by power, is not sufficient for the propagation and protection of truth—whether a government, conducting itself in the true spirit of its constitution, with zeal and purity, and doing no act which it would be unwilling the whole world should witness, can be written down by falsehood and defamation . . . he who has time renders a service to morals and public tranquility, in reforming these abuses by the salutary coercions of the law; but the experiment is noted, to prove that, since truth and reason have maintained their ground against false opinions in league with false facts, the press, confined to truth, needs no other legal restraint; the public judgment will correct false reasonings and opinions, on a full hearing of all parties; and no other definite line can be drawn between the inestimable liberties of the press and its demoralizing licentiousness. If there be still improprie-

3. 380.

ties which this rule would not restrain, its supplement must be sought in the censorship of public opinion.

AS to myself, conscious that there was not a truth on earth which I feared should be known, I have lent myself willingly as the subject of a great experiment, which was to prove that an administration, conducting itself with fairness, with integrity and common understanding, cannot be battered down even by the falsehoods of a licentious press, and consequently still less by the press as restrained within the legal and wholesome limits of truth. This experiment was wanting for the world to demonstrate the falsehood of the pretext that freedom of the press is incompatible with orderly government. I have never therefore even contradicted the thousands of calumnies so industriously propagated against myself. But the fact being once established, that the press is impotent when it abandons itself to falsehood, I leave to others to restore it to its strength by recalling it within the pale of truth. Within that it is a noble institution, equally the friend of science and of civil liberty.

11. 155.

THE greatest favor which can be done me is the communication of the opinions of judicious men, of men who do not suffer their judgments to be biased by either interests or passions.

11. 159.

THE light which has been shed on mankind by the art of printing has eminently changed the condition of the world. As yet, that light has dawned on the middling classes only of the men of Europe. The kings

and the rabble, of equal ignorance, have not as yet received its rays; but it continues to spread, and while printing is preserved it can no more recede than the sun return on his course. A first attempt to recover the right of self-government may fail, so may a second, a third. . . . All Europe, Russia excepted, has caught the spirit; and all will obtain representative government, more or less perfect. This is now well understood to be a necessary check on kings, whom they will probably think it more prudent to chain and tame than to exterminate. To attain all this, however, rivers of blood must yet flow, and years of desolation pass over, yet the object is worth rivers of blood, and years of desolation. For what inheritance so valuable can man leave to his posterity?

15. 465.

Chapter XVII.

Miscellaneous Extracts

DEAR PAGE.—In the most melancholy fit that any poor soul ever was, I sit down to write to you. Last night, as merry as agreeable company and dancing with Belinda in the Apollo could make me, I never could have thought the succeeding sun could have seen me as wretched as I now am! I was prepared to say a great deal: I had dressed up, in my own mind, such thoughts as occurred to me, in as moving a language as I knew how, and expected to have performed in a tolerably creditable manner. But, good Lord! when I had an opportunity of venting them, a few broken sentences, uttered in great disorder and interrupted with pauses of uncommon length, were the too visible marks of my strange confusion.

4. 12.

JOHN ADAMS . . . said . . . Reason, Justice, and Equity never had weight enough on the face of the earth, to govern the councils of men. It is interest alone which does it, and it is interest alone which can be trusted. . . . It has been said we are independent individuals (referring to the colonies) making a bargain together. The question is not what we are now, but what we ought to be when our bargain is made. The Confederacy is to make us one individual only; it is to form us like separate pieces of metal, into one common mass. We shall no longer retain our separate individuality, but become a single individual as to all questions submitted to the confederacy.

1. 49.

MR. MADISON . . . acquired a habit of self-possession, which placed at ready command the rich resources of his luminous and discriminating mind, and of his extensive information, and rendered him the first of every assembly afterwards of which he happened to be a member. Never wandering from his subject into vain declamation, but pursuing it closely, in language pure, classical and copious, soothing always the feelings of his adversaries by civilities and softness of expression, he rose to the eminent station which he held in the great National convention of 1787; and in that of Virginia which followed, he sustained the new Constitution in all its parts, bearing off the palm against the logic of George Mason, and the fervid declamation of Patrick Henry.

I. 63.

SPEAKING with Dr. Franklin of this singular disposition of men to quarrel and divide themselves into parties, he gave his sentiments, as usual, by Apologue. He mentioned the Eddystone Lighthouse in the British channel, as being built on a rock, in the mid channel, totally inaccessible in winter from the boisterous character of the sea in that season; that, therefore, for the two keepers employed to keep up the lights, all provisions for the winter were necessarily carried to them in autumn, as they could never be visited again until the return of the milder season; that on the first practicable day in the spring a boat put off to them with fresh supplies. The boatmen met at the door one of the keepers, and accosted him with a "How goes it, friend?" "Very well." "How is your companion?" "I do not know." "Don't know? Is he not here?" "I can't tell." "Have you not seen him to-day?" "No." "When did you see him?" "Not since last fall." "You have killed him?" "Not I, indeed." They were about to lay hold of him as having certainly mur-

I. 81.

dered his companion; but he desired them to go upstairs and examine for themselves. They went up and there found the other keeper. They had quarrelled it seems soon after having been left there, had divided into two parties, assigned the cares below to one, and those above to the other, and had neither seen, or spoken to one another since.

ON my return from Holland, I found Paris as I had left it, still in high fermentation. . . . Nor should we wonder at this pressure, when we consider the monstrous abuses of power under which this people were ground to powder; when we pass in review the weight of their taxes and the inequality of their distribu-
1. 127. tion; the oppressions of the tithes, . . . the shackles on Commerce by Monopolies; on industry by Guilds and Corporations; on the freedom of conscience, of thought and of speech; . . . the venality of the judges and their partialities to the rich; the monopoly of the military honors by the Noblesse; the enormous expenses of the Queen, the Princes and the Court; the prodigalities of Pensions; and the riches, luxury, indolence, and immorality of the Clergy. Surely under such a mass of misrule and oppression, a people might justly press for a thorough reformation, and might even dismount their rough shod riders, and leave them to walk on their own legs.

THE appeal to the rights of man, which had been made in the United States, was taken up by France, first of the European Nations. From her the spirit has spread over those of the South. The tyrants of the North have allied indeed against it, but it is irresistible. Their opposition will only multiply its millions of
6. 158. human victims; their own satellites will catch it, and the condition of man through the civilized

world, will be finally and greatly ameliorated. This is a wonderful instance of great events from small causes. So inscrutable is the arrangement of causes and consequences in this world, that a twopenny duty on tea, unjustly imposed in a sequestered part of it changes the condition of all its inhabitants.

AND here, I cannot leave this great and good country, without expressing my sense of its preëminence of character among the Nations of the Earth. A more benevolent people I have never known, nor greater warmth and devotedness in their select friendships. Their kindness and accommodation to strangers is unparalleled, and the hospitality of Paris is beyond anything I had conceived to be practicable in a large City. Their eminence, too, in science, the communicative dispositions of their scientific men, the politeness of general manners, the ease and vivacity of their conversation, give a charm to their society, to be found nowhere else. In a comparison of this with other countries we have the proof of primacy, which was given to Themistocles, after the battle of Salamis. Every General voted himself the first reward of valor, and the second to Themistocles. So, ask the travelled inhabitant of any nation, in what country on earth you would rather live?—Certainly in my own, where are all my friends, my relations and the earliest and sweetest affections of my life. Which would be your second choice? France.

1. 159.

I EXPLAINED to him (Washington) that . . . as to himself, his presence was important; that he was the only man in the United States who possessed the confidence of the whole; that government was founded on opin-

ion and confidence, and that the longer he remained, the stronger would become the habits of the people in
I. 317. submitting to the government, and in thinking it a thing to be maintained, that there was no other person who would be thought more than the head of a party.

EDMUND RANDOLPH tells J. Madison and myself a curious fact which he had from Lear. When the President (Gen. Washington) went to New York, he resisted for three weeks the efforts to introduce levees. At length he yielded, and left it to Humphreys and some others to settle the forms. Accordingly an ante-
I. 333. chamber and presence room were provided, and when those who were to pay their court were assembled, the President set out, preceded by Humphreys. After passing through the antechamber, the door of the inner room was thrown open, and Humphreys entered first, calling out with a loud voice, "The President of The United States." The President was so much disconcerted with it, that he did not recover from it the whole time of the Levee, and when the company was gone, he said to Humphreys, "Well, you have taken me in once, but by God you shall never take me in a second time."

DR. BROWN tells me he has it from a merchant, that during the last winter the directors of the bank ordered the freest discounts. Every man could obtain it. Money being so flush, the six per cents were run up to 21 and 22 shillings. Then the directors sold out their private stocks. When the discounted notes were be-
I. 348. coming due, they stopped discounts, and not a dollar was to be had. This reduced six per cents to 18 shillings; then the same directors bought in again.

THE passage of the Potomac through the Blue Ridge is, perhaps, one of the most stupendous scenes in nature. You stand on a very high point of land. On your right comes up the Shenandoah, having ranged along the foot of the mountain an hundred miles to seek a vent. On your left approaches the Potomac, in quest of a passage also. In the moment of their junction, they rush together against the mountain, rend it asunder, and pass off to the sea. The first glance of this scene hurries our senses into the opinion that the Earth has been created in time, that the mountains were formed first, that the rivers began to flow afterwards, that in this place particularly, they have been dammed up by the Blue Ridge Mountains, and have formed an ocean which filled the whole valley; that continuing to rise they have at length broken over at this point and have torn the mountain down from its summit to its base. . . . The piles of rock on each hand, but particularly on the Shenandoah, the evident marks of their disrupture and avulsion from their beds by the most powerful forces of nature, corroborate the impression. But the distant finishing which nature has given to the picture, is of a very different character. It is a true contrast to the foreground. It is as placid and delightful as that is wild and tremendous. For the Mountain being cloven asunder, she presents to your eye, through the cleft, a small catch of smooth blue horizon, at an infinite distance in the plain country, inviting you as it were, from the tumult roaring around to pass through the breach and participate of the calm below. Here the eye ultimately composes itself; and that way, too, the road happens actually to lead. . . . This scene is worth a voyage across the Atlantic.

2. 24.

THE Indians' only controls are their manners, and that moral sense, of right and wrong, which, like the sense of tasting and feeling in every man, makes a part of his nature. An offence against these is punished by contempt, by exclusion from society, or, where the case is serious, as that of murder, by the individuals whom it
2. 128. concerns. Imperfect as this species of coercion may seem, crimes are very rare among them; insomuch that were it made a question, whether no law, as among the savage Americans, or too much law, as among the civilized Europeans, submits man to the greatest evil, one who has seen both conditions of existence would pronounce it to be the last; and that the sheep are happier of themselves, than under the care of wolves. It will be said that great societies cannot exist without government. The savages therefore break them into small ones.

SPIRITUOUS liquors, the small pox, war, and an abridgment of territory to a people who lived principally on the spontaneous productions of nature, had committed terrible havoc among them, which generation, under the obstacles opposed to it among them, was not likely to make good. That the lands of this country
2. 131. were taken from them by conquest, is not so general a truth as is supposed.

I AM much pleased with the people of this country (France). The roughness of the human mind is so thoroughly rubbed off with them that it seems as if one might glide thrugh a whole life with them without a jostle. Perhaps, too, their manners may be the best calculated for happiness to a people in their situation, but I am
5. 80. convinced they fall far short of effecting a happiness so temperate, so uniform, and so lasting as is generally enjoyed with us. The domestic bonds here are

absolutely done away with, and where can there compensation be found? Perhaps they may catch some moments of transport above the level of the ordinary tranquil joy we experience, but they are separated by long intervals, during which all the passions are at sea without rudder or compass. . . . Indeed it is difficult to conceive how so good a people, with so good a King, so well disposed rulers in general, so genial a climate, so fertile a soil, should be rendered so ineffectual for producing human happiness by one single curse—that of a bad form of government. But it is a fact, in spite of the mildness of their governors, the people are ground to powder by the vices of the form of government. Of twenty millions of people supposed to be in France, I am convinced there are nineteen millions more wretched, more accursed in every circumstance of human existence than the most conspicuously wretched individual in the United States.

AARON BURR . . . found at once that the attachment of the western country to the present Union was not to be shaken; that its dissolution could not be effected with the consent of its inhabitants, and that his resources were inadequate, as yet, to effect it by force.

3. 431.

THE following dialogue took place between my head and my heart: Heart—You confess your follies, indeed! but still you hug and cherish them; and no reformation can be hoped where there is no repentance. . . . Heart.—Who, then, can so softly bind up the wound of another, as he who has felt the same wound himself? Head.—The most effectual means of being secure against pain is to retire within ourselves, and to suffice for our own happiness. Those which depend

on ourselves are the only pleasures a wise man will count on; for nothing is ours, which another man will count on; for nothing is ours of which another may deprive us of. Hence the inestimable value of intellectual pleasures. Ever in our power, always leading us to something new, never cloying, we ride serene and sublime above the concern of this mortal world, contemplating truth and nature, matter and motion, the laws which bind up their existence, and that Eternal Being who made and bound them by those laws. Let this be our employ. Leave the bustle and tumult of society to those who have talents to occupy themselves with them. Friendship is but another name for an alliance with the follies and misfortunes of others. Our own share of miseries is sufficient: why enter, then, as volunteers into those of another? Is there so little gaul poured into our own cup, that we must need help drink that of our neighbor? A friend dies, or leaves us; we feel as if a limb was cut off. He is sick; we must watch over him, and participate of his pains. His fortune is shipwrecked; ours must be laid under contribution. He loses a child, a parent, or a partner: we must mourn the loss as if it were our own. Heart.—And what more sublime delight than to mingle tears with one whom the hand of heaven hath smitten! to watch over the bed of sickness, and to beguile its tedious and its painful moments! to share our bread with one whom misfortune has left none! this world abounds indeed with misery; to lighten its burden, we must divide it with one another. But let us now try virtue by your mathematical balance, and as you have put into one scale the burthens of friendship, let me put its comforts in the other. When languishing then under disease, how grateful is the solace of our friends . . . how much are we supported by their encouragements and kind offices! When heaven has taken from us some object of our love, how sweet is it to have a bosom whereon to recline our

heads, and into which we may pour the torrent of our tears! Grief, with such a comfort, is almost a luxury. . . . Assuredly nobody will care for him who cares for nobody. But Friendship is precious not only in the shade, but in the sunshine of life, and thanks to a benevolent arrangement of things, the greater part of life is sunshine.

Let the gloomy monk, sequestered from the world, seek unsocial pleasures in the bottom of his cell! . . . They mistake for happiness the mere absence of pain. . . . When nature assigned us the same habitation, she gave us over it a divided empire. To you she allotted the field of science; to me that of morals. When the circle is to be squared, or the orbit of a comet to be traced; when the arch of greatest strength, or the solid of least resistance, is to be investigated, take up the problem; it is yours; Nature has given me no cognizance over it. In like manner in denying to you the feeling of sympathy, of benevolence, of gratitude, of justice, of love, of friendship, she has excluded you from their control. To these she has adapted the mechanism of the heart. Morals were too essential to the happiness of man, to be risked on the uncertain combinations of the head. She laid their foundation, therefore, in sentiment, and not in science. . . . When the poor woman came to ask a charity in Philadelphia you whispered that she looked like a drunkard, and that half a dollar was enough to give her for the alehouse. Those who want the dispositions to give, easily find reasons why they ought not to give. . . . If our country, when pressed with wrongs at the point of a bayonet, had been governed by its head instead of its heart, where should we have been now? Hanging on the gallows as high as Haman's. You began to calculate, and to compare wealth and numbers; we threw up a few pulsations of our blood; we supplied enthusiasm against wealth and numbers, we put our existence to the hazard, when the hazard seemed against

us, and we saved our country, justifying at the same time the ways of providence, whose precept is, to do always what is right, and leave the issue to Him. In short, my friend, so far as my recollection serves me, I do not know that I ever did a good thing on your suggestion, or a dirty one without it. . . . You say I contract them (friendships) at random. . . . I receive none into my esteem, till I know they are worthy of it. Wealth, title, office, are no recommendations to my friendship. On the contrary, very good qualities are necessary to make amends for their having wealth, title, and office.

5. 431.

MEN come into business at first, with visionary principles. It is practice alone, which can correct and conform them to the actual current of affairs.

7. 39.

BE assiduous in learning, take much exercise for your health and practice much virtue. Health, learning and virtue will insure your happiness. They will give you a quiet conscience, private esteem and public honor. Beyond these we want nothing but physical necessaries, and they are easily obtained.

7. 44.

THE future inhabitants of the Atlantic and Mississippi States will be our sons. We think we see their happiness in their Union, and we wish it. Events may prove it otherwise; and if they see their interest in separation, why should we take sides with our Atlantic rather than our Mississippi descendants? It is the elder and younger son differing. God bless them both, and keep them in Union, if it be for their good, but

10. 408.

separate them if it be better. . . . This treaty must of course be laid before both houses, because both have important functions to perform respecting it. They, I presume, will see their duty to their country in ratifying and paying for it, so as to secure a good which would never again be in their power. But I suppose they must then appeal to the Nation for an additional article to the Constitution, approving and confirming an act which the nation had not previously authorized. The Constitution has made no provision for our holding foreign territory, still less for incorporating foreign nations into our Union. The executive, in seizing the fleeting occurrence which so much advances the good of their country, has done an act beyond the Constitution. The legislature . . . risking themselves like faithful sevants, must ratify and pay for it (Louisiana Territory) and throw themselves on their country for doing for them unauthorized, what we know they would have done for themselves had they been in a situation to do it. It is the case of a guardian, investing the money of his ward in the purchase of an important adjacent territory, and saying to him when of age, I did this for your good; I pretend to no right to bind you: you may disavow me, and I must get out of the scrape as I can: I thought it my duty to risk myself for you. But we shall not be disavowed by the Nation, and their act of indemnity will confirm and not weaken the Constitution, by more strongly marking out its lines.

I WILL not say that public life is the line for making a fortune. But it furnishes a decent and honorable support, and places ones children on good grounds for public favor. The family of a beloved father will stand with the public on the most favorable ground of competition. Had General Washington left children, what would
11. 424. have been denied to them? Perhaps I ought to apologize for the frankness of this communication.

It proceeds from an ardent zeal to see this government (the idol of my soul) continue in good hands.

HOWEVER I have from the beginning determined to submit myself as the subject upon whom may be proved the impotency of a free press in a country like ours, against those who conduct themselves honestly and enter into no intrigue. I admit at the same time that restraining the press to truth, as the present laws do, is the only way of making it useful. But I have thought it necessary first to prove it can never be dangerous.

12. 159.

IT is well known that on every question, the lawyers are about equally divided, as is seen in the present case, and were we to act but in cases where no contrary opinion of a lawyer can be had, we should never act.

12. 168.

MY long and intimate knowledge of my countrymen, satisfied and satisfies me, that, let there ever be occasion to display the banners of the law, and the world will see how few and pitiful are those who shall array themselves in opposition.

12. 184.

HISTORY, I believe, furnished no example of a priest-ridden people maintaining a free civil government. . . . In fifty years more the United States will contain 50 million inhabitants, and fifty years are soon gone over.

14. 21.

ON the whole, his (Washington's) character was, in its mass, perfect, in nothing bad, in few points indifferent; and it may truly be said, that never did nature and fortune combine more perfectly to make a man great,

and to place him in the same constellation with whatever worthies have merited from man an everlasting
14. 50. remembrance. For his was the singular destiny and merit, of leading the armies of his country successfully through an arduous war, for the establishment of its independence; of conducting its councils through the birth of a government, new in its forms and its principles, until it had settled down into a quiet and orderly train; and of scrupulously obeying the laws through the whole of his career, civil and military, of which the history of the World furnishes no other example.

MERCHANTS have no country. The mere spot on which they stand does not constitute so strong an attachment as that from which they draw their gains. In every country and in every age, the priest has been hostile to liberty. He is always in alliance with the despot, abetting his abuses in return for protection to his own.

14. 119.

HOW can expedition be expected from a body which we have saddled with an hundred lawyers, whose trade is talking?

14. 310.

AFTER all men of energy and character must have enemies; because there are two sides to every question, and taking one with decision, and acting on it with effect, those who take the other will of course be hostile in proportion as they feel that effect.

15. 109.

THE Confederation of the States, while on the carpet before the old congress, was strenuously opposed by the smaller States, under apprehensions that they would be swallowed up by the larger ones. We were long engaged in the discussion; it produced great heat, much ill humor, and intemperate declarations from some members. Dr. Franklin at length brought the debate to a close with one of his little apologues. He observed that "at the time of the Union of England with Scotland, the Duke of Argyle was most violently opposed to that measure, and among other things predicted that, as the whale had swallowed Jonah, so Scotland would be swallowed by England. However," said the Doctor, "when Lord Bute came into the government, he soon brought into its administration so many of his countrymen, that it was found in event that Jonah swallowed the whale." This little story produced a general laugh and restored good humor, and the article of difficulty was passed.

28. 167.

APPRECIATIONS OF

THOMAS JEFFERSON

THOMAS JEFFERSON BY ABRAHAM LINCOLN, 1859

I REMEMBER being very much amused at seeing two partially intoxicated men engaged in a fight with their great coats on, which fight, after a long and rather harmless contest, ended in each having fought himself out of his own coat and into that of the other. If the two leading parties of this day are really identical with the
*1. xv. two in the days of Jefferson and Adams they have performed the same feat as the two drunken men. But soberly, it is now no child's play to save the principles of Jefferson from total overthrow in this Nation. . . . The principles of Jefferson are the definitions and axioms of free society, and yet they are denied and evaded, with no small show of success. One dashingly calls them "glittering generalities." Another bluntly calls them "self-evident lies," and others insidiously argue that they apply to "Superior Races." These expressions, differing in form, are identical in object and effect—the supplanting the principles of free government, and restoring those of classification, caste and legitimacy. They would delight a convocation of crowned heads plotting against the people. They are the vanguard, the miners and sappers, of returning despotism. We must repulse them, or they will subjugate us. This is a world of compensation; and he who would be no slave must consent to have no slave. Those who deny freedom

to others deserve it not for themselves, and, under a just God, cannot long retain it. All honor to Jefferson—to the man, who in the concrete pressure of a national struggle for independence by a single people, had the coolness, forecast, and sagacity to introduce into a merely revolutionary document an abstract truth, applicable to all men and all times, and so embalm it there that to-day and in all coming days it shall be a rebuke and a stumbling block to the very harbingers of reappearing tyranny and oppression.

THOMAS JEFFERSON BY SENATOR GEORGE F. HOAR

IF WE want a sure proof of Thomas Jefferson's greatness it will be found in the fact that men of every variety of political opinion, however far asunder, find confirmation of their doctrine in him. Every party in this country to-day reckons Jefferson as its patron saint . . . The mighty figure of Thomas Jefferson comes down in history with the Declaration of Independence in the one hand and the title deed of Louisiana in the other. . . . More than any other statesman down to his time—more than any other statesman that I can think of—save Lincoln alone—he had a steadfast and abiding faith in justice, righteousness and liberty as the prevailing and abiding forces in the conduct of States, and that justice and righteousness were sure to prevail where any people bear rule in perfect liberty. He accepted this doctrine with an unhesitating confidence. He never failed to proclaim it on all occasions. For it he was ready to encounter unpopularity, poverty, if need be, imprisonment and exile. Upon it, as on a cornerstone, he laid the foundation of the republic. . . . Thomas Jefferson was one of those men who can differ from hemispheres,

from generations, from administrations, and from centuries with the perfect assurance that on any question of liberty and righteousness, if the opinion of Thomas Jefferson stand on one side and the opinion of mankind on the other, the world will, in the end, come around to his way of thinking. (1. vii.).

THOMAS JEFFERSON BY JAMES C. CARTER, LL.D.

THE LEADING feature in the mind and character of Thomas Jefferson was a firm and undoubting belief in the worth and dignity of human nature, and in the capacity of man for self government. It seems to have been inborn; but whether inborn or communicated, it ruled his life, it burst from him like the peal of an anthem when he came to pen the immortal Declaration of Independence. . . . (2. vii.).

THOMAS JEFFERSON BY CHARLES W. NEEDHAM, LL.D.

PRESIDENT OF COLUMBIAN UNIVERSITY

"INSTITUTIONS" it has been said, "are the lengthening shadows of great men." . . . It is well therefore that at times we go back to the original Declaration—the springs from which have flowed the rivers that refresh and benefit mankind. . . . Jefferson . . . believed profoundly in the education of all the children in the State, of rich and poor alike, in the fundamental or elementary courses of instruction at public expense. . . . Writing to a friend in France, in later life, upon the subject of fit-

ting one's self for public life, and especially for the duties of a legislator, he said in substance: Go among the people, lounge upon their beds that you may see how hard they are; eat their food that you may be able, if possible, to put some meat in their kettle of vegetables. In higher education, then, we should use to the greatest extent possible, the method of original research. Let the student of engineering learn and establish himself in the laboratories and workshops where "things are done!" Let the student of history learn some things from the men who are making history. . . . But this strange man was always looking out for picked men to serve the State; not necessarily in public life, but in all those higher walks that make the higher civilization. And he believed there was material for high and noble service among the poor. He would, therefore, have free scholarships in these colleges for the poor man's son. . . . How was the selection to be made? "Select students who shall have exhibited at the elementary schools the most pronounced indication of aptness of judgment and correct disposition" . . . the last thought is Jefferson's reason for education—"the preservation of liberty." How these men loved liberty! They knew its value, for they paid the price of it. (4. vi.).

THOMAS JEFFERSON BY ANDREW J. MONTAGUE

GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA

THIS is not a controversial occasion. The political philosophy of Mr. Jefferson will take care of itself. Its power, and majesty, and simplicity find confirmation in Patron's statement that, "If Jefferson was

wrong, America is wrong. If America is right, Jefferson is right." . . . He studied agriculture, forestry,
5. i. education, art, and science. He could tie an artery or set a fractured leg. He was alike at home with the music of his violin, and the "music of the spheres." . . . He saw the taper of learning which he lighted grow in volume, and within its rays he saw, as if penciled with letters of a finer light, a motto often quoted and written by him, "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free."

THOMAS JEFFERSON BY J. W. ATKINSON

EX-GOVERNOR OF WEST VIRGINIA

TRUE statesmanship is the masterful art. Poetry, music, painting, sculpture, and architecture please, thrill, and inspire, but the great statesman and diplomatist and leader in thought and action convinces, controls, and compels the admiration of all classes and creeds. Logical thought, power of appeal and tact-
6. i. fulness never fail to command attention and respect. It has always been thus, and it will unquestionably so remain. Many really able and brilliant men, however, lack balance, and the faculty of calculation. They are too often swayed by emotions, and their intellectual powers, which otherwise might exert a controlling influence, are thus weakened, and often result in failure. True greatness in the man is gauged by what he accomplished in life, and the impress he left upon his fellow man. It does not consist of one act or even of many, but rather their effect upon the times in which he lived, and how long they endure after the actor is gone from the throng of the living. . . .

However gifted one may be, he cannot win conspicuous laurels in any calling or avocation if he be deficient in tactfulness. The man who best understands human nature, knows how to approach people, and possesses the art of leading them, is the one who will invariably have the largest following and will possess the greatest amount of influence over his fellows. . . . The successful leader in legislative bodies—he whose name is recorded on the legislative journal as the author of the most important measures which are enacted into laws—is without exception that member who is tactful, thoughtful, industrious, and sincere. It makes no difference how great his natural endowments may be, if he is wanting in these elements his success will be restricted to a narrow sphere; and the greatest of these is tactfulness. The world's great tacticians are few. In America I can mention but three who are deserving of first rank—Thomas Jefferson, Henry Clay, and James G. Blaine—these three, and the greatest of these was Jefferson, as he seemed to have learned in early life, more than any of his compeers, that a little management will often avoid resistance which a vast force cannot overcome, and that it is wisdom to grant graciously what he could not refuse safely, and thus conciliate those whom he was otherwise unable to control . . . Through his great genius, transient questions were often transformed into eternal truth. . . . Military chieftains often win immortal renown as the result of a single important battle, and often flash like rushlight stars across the sky of history. But this is not true of men like Jefferson and others of his class. They grow into great characters and they build monuments to their memories which the tooth of time cannot destroy. There is nothing ephemeral or evanescent in the makeup of their records. They build not for a day nor a year, but for the centuries.

THOMAS JEFFERSON BY JOSEPHUS DANIELS

EDITOR, NEWS AND OBSERVER, RALEIGH, N. C.

MR. JEFFERSON, more than any man of his day, appreciated the mighty power of the printed page. Indeed it may be doubted whether any man of any age appreciated so truly its capacity to create public sentiment. He more than any of his famous contemporaries understood that the man imbibes what he reads more 18, iii. than what he hears . . . Freedom was to him a religion. He hated anything that hindered man's liberty to think, to write, to speak, to do. . . . Why did Mr. Jefferson maintain silence when unjustly accused, and why did he prevent the prosecution of men who slandered him? The answer is found in his own words. He profoundly believed that, while a free press would often wound and temporarily injure, ten thousand times more evil would follow censorship or prosecutions than to trust to the innate sense of the public to separate the true from the false, and, before Emerson put it into an axiom, Jefferson was confident of this truth: "A man passes for what he is worth. Very idle is all curiosity concerning other people's estimate of us, and idle is all fear of remaining unknown. If a man knows that he can do anything—that he can do it better than any one else—he has a pledge of the acknowledgment of that fact by all persons. The world is full of judgment days, and into every assembly that a man enters, in every action that he attempts, he is gauged and stamped."

"The press is impotent when it abandons itself to falsehood."—Jefferson.

Jefferson was inherently an innovator. No tradition, no custom, no practice, no belief, that did not appeal

to his judgment and reason had any sacredness to him. . . . Wherever, in any decade in the world's history—yesterday, to-day, to-morrow—the pen is subjected to censorship, the words and deeds of Jefferson are the bow of promise set in the heavens. As the years shall pass, "and the thoughts of men are widen'd with the process of the suns," and one by one the nations that sit in darkness come into the glorious light of freedom—freedom of conscience, freedom of speech, freedom to think, and write, and print—the majestic figure of Jefferson will loom up as the inspiring spirit who first breathed into the printing press—(theretofore the unresponsive instrument to further the decrees of kings and bind the conscience and thoughts of men)—the breath of life, and made it responsive, sentient, virile, free. In this new life that dates from Jefferson, this free press has become the champion of the oppressed, the teacher of the young, the guide of the mature, the comfort of the aged, and the mightiest power for good that blesses and shall forever bless mankind. . . .

THOMAS JEFFERSON BY G. O. FLOWER

EDITOR OF THE ARENA

FOR FIVE years Jefferson studied law—studied it exhaustively after the manner of a scientific student who is not content until he has traced the laws to their origin, and has become conversant with the conditions obtaining when great rulings were made or precedents established. . . . Rapidly and darkly grew the clouds
7. iii. that threatened war . . . when a company of as rare souls as ever risked life in the defence of a principle assembled in Raleigh tavern. All were members of

the House of Burgesses; all were young men; and Jefferson was there, as he was from the first a leading spirit in the revolutionary meetings. These daring young statesmen framed a resolution with great care, so as not to alarm the timid members, but which was destined to bear momentous results. It provided for the appointment of a Committee of Correspondence and Inquiry for the dissemination of intelligence between the colonies. It was a standing committee of eleven. . . . Other colonies were urged to appoint similar committees. The resolution was promptly passed . . . this bold action was followed by the dissolution of the House, but the committee remained at the capital and carefully prepared a circular letter, addressed to all the colonies, in which the purpose of the committee was fully explained and an urgent invitation was put forth to each colony immediately to appoint a similar committee, to the end that the thirteen dependencies might be kept in close touch and promptly informed of every overt act taken.

Not only did the colonies respond, but ere long almost every county, settlement, and village had its committee. Their work was indispensable. At one time they were the soul and strength of the rising tide of opposition, the hope of liberty, and the bond of union that emboldened men and colonies to speak and strike in a way that would not have been thought of if there had been no sense of strength through organization and concert of counsel.

If to-day in every State and County there were Standing Correspondence Committees of Eleven, like the old colonial patriots, and composed of the brightest and bravest men among the conscience element, the corruption of political life incident to virtual government by the corporations and the exploitation and robbery of the people through privilege and monopoly could be quickly checked. Here, as on

numerous other occasions, the actions of Jefferson and the young patriots of the seventies indicate a wise course for the apostles of progressive democracy and justice to-day.

THOMAS JEFFERSON BY WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

IT HAS been said that it marks an epoch in history when God lets loose a thinker in the world. God let loose a thinker when Jefferson was born. Carlyle says that thought is stronger than artillery parks; that thought moulds the world like soft clay; that it writes and 8. viii. unwrites laws, makes and unmakes parliaments—and that back of every great thought is love; that love is the ruling force in the world. I believe it is true. I believe that Jefferson's greatness rests more upon his love of human kind than upon his intellect—great as was his intellect, and that he was great because his heart was big enough to embrace the world. . . . Jefferson's memory needs no marble or bronze to perpetuate it. Erect your monument as high as you can, make it of material as enduring as you may, time will finally destroy it; the years will come and go, and at last that monument will disappear; but there is in the hearts of the people a monument that time cannot touch, and this monument growing, as the world grows, increasing as civilization increases, is a greater monument than the hand of man can rear. And as people measure the influence of Jefferson upon the destinies of the human race, they will be convinced that the Bible is true when it says that "it is more blessed to give than to receive," for he gave the largest measure of service that man ever gave to man.

THOMAS JEFFERSON BY HON. GEORGE GRAHAM VEST

THOMAS JEFFERSON wrote his own epitaph. . . .

"Here was buried
THOMAS JEFFERSON
Author of the
DECLARATION of AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE,
of
The Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom,
and
Father of the University of Virginia."

It is a significant epitaph, and worthy of him who wrote it. Jefferson had been a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses and of the Continental Con-
12. i. gress, Governor of Virginia, Minister to France, Secretary of State, Vice-President and President of the United States, but none of these honors or titles are upon the stone which marks his grave. True to his convictions, shown by every private and public act, the sworn enemy of parade, sham, and ostentation, the stern old Democrat wanted, living or dead, none of the tinsel and trappings of heraldic pomp and glory. He named for himself his passports to immortality—the rights of man, religious liberty, and universal education.

THOMAS JEFFERSON BY HON. WILLIAM WIRT, 1826

THE FINAL debate on the resolution (Declaration of Independence) was postponed as we have seen, for nearly a month. In the meantime all who are conversant with the course of action of all deliberative bodies know how much is done by conversation among the members. It is not often, indeed, that prose-
13. xxii. lytes are made on great questions by public debate. On such questions opinions are far more frequently formed in private, and so formed that debate is seldom known to change them. Hence the value of out-of-door talent of chamber conversation, where objections candidly stated are candidly, calmly, and mildly discussed; where neither pride, nor shame, nor anger takes part in the discussion nor stands in the way of a correct conclusion; but where everything being conducted frankly, delicately, respectfully, and kindly, the better cause and the better reasoner are almost always sure of success. In this kind of service, as well as in all that depended on the power of composition, Mr. Jefferson was as much a master magician as his eloquent friend Adams was in debate.

THOMAS JEFFERSON BY HON. JOHN B STANCHFIELD

IN HIS public life of upwards of forty years, covering the entire range of preferment from the humblest to the highest, two things stand out with great prominence; he never made a speech, he never waged a war . . . he left the Presidency at the end of his second term with the admiration and affectionate regard of
14. i. seven millions of people. The free school, the free church and our free government are largely owing to his untiring zeal and industry. . . . While the battle was raging in the House of Burgesses against the right of the first born male to inherit, his opponents, under the leadership of Pendleton, pleaded that the eldest son might at least take a double share: "Not," was Jefferson's reply, "until he can eat a double allowance of food and do a double allowance of work." "My purpose," said Jefferson afterwards, "was instead of an aristocracy of wealth to make an opening for an aristocracy of virtue and talent."

THOMAS JEFFERSON BY HON. HENRY GEORGE

JEFFERSON is a pole star among political philosophers because he based his politics on the eternal, self-evident, fundamental truths that all men are created equal and free and that they are endowed by their creator with certain inherent and unalienable rights,
16. i. among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

RESOLUTION—1809—ADOPTED BY THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF VIRGINIA

SIR: We have to thank you (Thomas Jefferson) for the model of an administration conducted on the purest principles of Republicanism; for pomp and state laid aside; patronage discarded; internal taxes abolished; a host of superfluous officers disbanded, the monarchic maxim "that a national debt is a national blessing" renounced, and more than thirty-three millions of our debt discharged; the native right to nearly one hundred millions of acres of our national domain extinguished; and without the guilt or calamities of conquest, a vast and fertile region added to our country, far more extensive than her original possessions. . . . You carry with you the richest of all rewards, the recollection of a life well spent in the service of your country, and proofs the most decisive, of the love, the gratitude, the veneration of your countrymen.

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